

STUDIES IN PREJUDICE SERIES

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

A Psychological and Sociological
Study of Veterans

BY

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

AND

MORRIS JANOWITZ

HARPER & BROTHERS • ESTABLISHED 1817

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

STUDIES IN PREJUDICE

EDITED BY MAX HORKHEIMER
AND SAMUEL H. FLOWERMAN

THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

*by T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik,
Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford*

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF VETERANS
by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz

ANTI-SEMITISM AND EMOTIONAL DISORDER

A PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION
by Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda

REHEARSAL FOR DESTRUCTION

A STUDY OF POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM IN IMPERIAL GERMANY
by Paul W. Massing

PROPHETS OF DECEIT

A STUDY OF THE TECHNIQUES OF THE AMERICAN AGITATOR
by Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman

Other Volumes in Preparation

SPONSORED BY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
SOCIAL STUDIES SERIES: PUBLICATION NO. IV

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

*A Psychological and Sociological
Study of Veterans*

by

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

and

MORRIS JANOWITZ



HARPER & BROTHERS • NEW YORK

326 15

1-12-50

1-12-50

1-12-50

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

Copyright, 1950, by The American Jewish Committee
Printed in the United States of America

All rights in this book are reserved.

*No part of the book may be reproduced in any
manner whatsoever without written permission
except in the case of brief quotations embodied
in critical articles and reviews. For information
address Harper & Brothers.*

B-E

THIS STUDY WAS CONDUCTED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO UNDER A GRANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

FOREWORD TO STUDIES IN PREJUDICE

At this moment in world history anti-Semitism is not manifesting itself with the full and violent destructiveness of which we know it to be capable. Even a social disease has its periods of quiescence during which the social scientist, like the biologist or the physician, can study it in the search for more effective ways to prevent or reduce the virulence of the next outbreak.

Today the world scarcely remembers the mechanized persecution and extermination of millions of human beings only a short span of years away in what was once regarded as the citadel of Western civilization. Yet the conscience of many men was aroused. How could it be, they asked each other, that in a culture of law, order and reason, there should have remained the irrational remnants of ancient racial and religious hatreds? How could they explain the willingness of great masses of people to tolerate the mass extermination of their fellow citizens? What tissues in the life of our modern society remain cancerous, and despite our assumed enlightenment show the incongruous atavism of ancient peoples? And what within the individual organism responds to certain stimuli in our culture with attitudes and acts of destructive aggression?

But an aroused conscience is not enough if it does not stimulate a systematic search for an answer. Mankind has paid too dearly for its naive faith in the automatic effect of something called prejudice: incantations have really never dispelled storms, disaster, pestilence, disease or other evils; nor does he who torments another cease his torture out of sheer boredom with his victim.

Prejudice is one of the problems of our times for which everyone has a theory but no one an answer. Every man in a sense believes that he is his own social scientist, for social science is the stuff of every-day living. The progress of science can perhaps be charted by the advances that scientists have made over commonsense notions of phenomena. In an effort to advance beyond mere commonsense approaches to problems of intergroup conflict, the American Jewish Committee in May, 1944, invited a group of American scholars of various backgrounds and disciplines to a two-day conference on religious and racial prejudice. At this meeting, a research program was outlined which would enlist

scientific method in the cause of seeking solutions to this crucial problem. Two levels of research were recommended. One was more limited in scope and geared to the recurring problems faced by educational agencies; e.g., the study of public reaction to selected current events, and the evaluation of various techniques and methods such as those involved in mass media of communication as they impinge upon inter-group relationships. The other level suggested was one of basic research, basic in that it should eventually result in additions to organized knowledge in this field. The first level frequently consists of a large number of small studies, limited in scope and focussed sharply on a given issue. In practice, we have found that the "goodness" of our smaller studies was proportional to our ingenuity in so devising them that they, too, could contribute basically to knowledge. The chief difference between the two levels of research—sometimes loosely called "short-range" and "long-range" research—seems largely to be due to the immediacy of implementation of findings as program-related or unrelated, rather than to differences in methodology, skills and techniques. On both levels, it is necessary to pursue an interdisciplinary approach to research problems.

To further research on both levels, the American Jewish Committee established a department of scientific research, headed in turn by each of us. The department saw its responsibility not only in itself initiating fundamental studies into the phenomena of prejudice, but also in helping to stimulate new studies.

The present series of volumes represents the first fruits of this effort. In a sense, the initial five volumes constitute one unit, an integrated whole, each part of which illuminates one or another facet of the phenomenon we call prejudice. Three of the books deal with those elements in the personality of modern man that predispose him to reactions of hostility to racial and religious groups. They attempt answers to the questions: What is there in the psychology of the individual that renders him "prejudiced" or "unprejudiced," that makes him more or less likely to respond favorably to the agitation of a Goebbels or a Gerald K. Smith? The volume on *The Authoritarian Personality* by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford, based upon a combination of research techniques, suggests one answer. It demonstrates that there is a close correlation between a number of deep rooted personality traits, and overt prejudice. The study has also succeeded in producing an instrument for measuring these traits among various strata of the population.

Within a more limited range of inquiry, the same question was asked with respect to two specific groups. The study on *Dynamics of Prejudice*, by Bettelheim and Janowitz, considers the connection between personality

traits and prejudice among war veterans. Here the investigators were able to examine the impact of the war experience, with its complex anxieties and tensions, as an added factor of major significance affecting tens of millions of people. *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder*, by Ackerman and Jahoda, is based upon the case histories of a number of individuals, from different walks of life, who have received intensive psychotherapy. The special significance of this study lies precisely in the analytical source of the material, in the availability of a body of evidence dealing with phenomena beneath the realm of the conscious and the rational, and illuminating the correlation established in more general terms in the basic investigation of the authoritarian personality.

The other important factor in prejudice is of course the social situation itself, the external stimuli to which the predispositions within the individual have reacted and continue to react. Nazi Germany is the vivid example of the effect of the social situation, and it is to the understanding of roots of Nazi anti-Semitism and thence to the present task of democratic reorientation in Germany that *Rehearsal for Destruction* by Massing is directed.

In *Prophets of Deceit*, by Lowenthal and Guterman, the role of the agitator is studied. The agitator's technique of persuasion, the mechanism of mediation that translates inchoate feeling into specific belief and action make up the theme of that volume. As mediator between the world and the individual psyche, the agitator molds already existing prejudices and tendencies into overt doctrines and ultimately into overt action.

It may strike the reader that we have placed undue stress upon the personal and the psychological rather than upon the social aspect of prejudice. This is not due to a personal preference for psychological analysis nor to a failure to see that the cause of irrational hostility is in the last instance to be found in social frustration and injustice. Our aim is not merely to describe prejudice but to explain it in order to help in its eradication. That is the challenge we would meet. Eradication means re-education, scientifically planned on the basis of understanding scientifically arrived at. And education in a strict sense is by its nature personal and psychological. Once we understand, for example, how the war experience may in some cases have strengthened personality traits predisposed to group hatred, the educational remedies may follow logically. Similarly, to expose the psychological tricks in the arsenal of the agitator may help to immunize his prospective victims against them.

Since the completion of these studies the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee has moved ahead into areas of research in which the unit of study is the group, the institution, the

community rather than the individual. Fortified by a better knowledge of *individual* dynamics, we are now concerned with achieving a better understanding of *group* dynamics. For we recognize that the individual *in vacuo* is but an artifact; even in the present series of studies, although essentially psychological in nature, it has been necessary to explain individual behavior in terms of social antecedents and concomitants. The second stage of our research is thus focused upon problems of group pressures and the sociological determinants of roles in given social situations. We seek answers to such questions as: Why does an individual behave in a "tolerant" manner in one situation and in a "bigoted" manner in another situation? To what extent may certain forms of intergroup conflict, which appears on the surface to be based upon ethnic difference, be based upon other factors, using ethnic difference as content?

The authors of the volumes and the many colleagues upon whose experience and assistance they have been able to draw have widely differing professional interest. This is immediately reflected in the various techniques they have used, even in the way they write. Some of the books are more technical, others more "readable." We have not sought uniformity. A search for the truth conducted with the best techniques of contemporary social sciences was our sole aim. Yet through all this diversity of method a significant measure of agreement has been achieved.

The problem requires a much more extensive and much more sustained effort than any single institution or any small group such as ours, could hope to put forth. It was our hope that whatever projects we could undertake would not only be contributions in themselves, but would also serve to stimulate active interest in continued study by other scholars. With deep satisfaction we have watched the steady increase in scientific publications in this field in the past few years. We believe that any study that bears upon this central theme, if carried out in a truly scientific spirit, cannot help but bring us closer to the theoretical, and ultimately to the practical, solution for reducing intergroup prejudice and hatred.

This foreword to *Studies in Prejudice* would not be complete without a tribute to the vision and leadership of Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice-President of the American Jewish Committee, who was responsible for calling the conference of scholars and for establishing the Department of Scientific Research. Both editors owe Dr. Slawson a debt of gratitude for the inspiration, guidance, and stimulation which he gave them.

MAX HORKHEIMER

SAMUEL H. FLOWERMAN

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| FOREWORD TO STUDIES IN PREJUDICE | vii |
| LIST OF TABLES | xiii |
| LIST OF CHARTS | xv |
| PREFACE | xvii |
| I. DYNAMIC APPROACH TO INTOLERANCE | 1 |
| II. PATTERNS OF ETHNIC INTOLERANCE | 7 |
| The Plan of the Research | |
| Design of the Interview | |
| Degrees of Intolerance | |
| Content of Interview | |
| Typical Examples | |
| Comparison of Anti-Semitic and Anti-Negro Attitudes | |
| III. STEREOTYPING THE MINORITY | 32 |
| IV. SOCIAL STATUS | 48 |
| V. THE WAR EXPERIENCE | 62 |
| VI. ANXIETY AND INTOLERANCE | 74 |
| Fear of Unemployment | |
| Political Attitudes | |
| VII. TOLERANCE: A FUNCTION OF CONTROL | 94 |
| Correlates of Control | |
| Case Material | |
| VIII. CONDONING INTOLERANCE: ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES | 141 |
| IX. REFLECTIONS, AND APPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION | 162 |
| The Individual | |
| Toward the Future | |

APPENDIX

187

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| The Interview | |
| Sampling Procedure | |
| Comments on the Interview Situation | |
| Defining the Patterns of Intolerance | |
| Reliability of Analytic Procedures | |
| Schedule of Interview Questions | |
| Supplementary Tables | |

INDEX

225

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER II

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Distribution of Anti-Semitism | 16 |
| 2. Distribution of Anti-Negro Attitudes | 26 |
| 3. Attitudes Toward Minorities <i>(on Selected Questions)</i> | 29 |

CHAPTER III

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Distribution of Stereotypes | 36 |
| 2. Stereotypes Characterizing Jews | 37 |
| 3. Stereotypes Characterizing Negroes | 38 |
| 4. Characterization of Soldiers | 44 |
| 5. "How Did the Fellows in Your Outfit Get Along With the Jews (With the Negroes)?" | 46 |

CHAPTER IV

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Social Correlates of Anti-Semitism | 50 |
| 2. "How Did the Fellows Feel About Religion?" | 51 |
| 3. Socioeconomic Correlates of Anti-Semitism | 56 |
| 4. Anti-Semitism and Social Mobility | 59 |

CHAPTER V

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. "Do You Feel That You Got a Bad Break in Your Army Career?" | 64 |
| 2. "Do You Think the Time You Spent in the Army Set You Back in Any Way?" | 66 |
| 3. Army Experience and Feelings of Deprivation | 68 |
| 4. Acceptance of Army Life | 69 |
| 5. "Who Gained Through the War?" | 73 |

CHAPTER VI

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. Optimism | 76 |
| 2. "Do You Think Enough Is Being Done for the Veterans Now?" | 77 |
| 3. "Do You Think Enough Is Being Done for the Veterans Now?" (By Income) | 78 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4. Apprehension About Unemployment | 80 |
| 5. Recollections of the Depression | 83 |
| 6. "Do You Think That What the Government Has Been Doing These Days Is Affecting the Liberties of the Ordinary People?" | 88 |
| 7. Attitude Toward Parties in General | 88 |
| 8. "What Do You Think Are the Chances for a Long Peace?" | 92 |
| 9. Reference to the Common Man | 93 |
| CHAPTER VII | |
| 1. Opinions About Army Discipline | 98 |
| 2. "How Did the Fellows in Your Outfit Get Along with the Officers?" | 99 |
| 3. Attitudes Toward Controlling Institutions | 101 |
| 4. Comparison of Attitudes Toward Political Parties and Controlling Institutions | 102 |
| 5. "Do You Think the Ordinary Individual Has Any Chance to Influence Politics Nowadays?" | 103 |
| 6. Recollection of Parental Attitudes | 105 |
| 7. Overall Evaluations—Factors Positively Related to Tolerance | 108 |
| 8. Overall Evaluations—Factors Negatively Related to Tolerance | 108 |
| 9. Tolerant Men Whose Controls Were Adequate (32 Men) | 109 |
| 10. Tolerant Men Whose Controls Were Inadequate (7 Men) | 110 |
| 11. Intolerant Men Whose Controls Were Inadequate (30 Men) | 111 |
| 12. Intolerant Men Whose Controls Were Intermediate or Adequate (17 Men) | 112 |
| CHAPTER VIII | |
| 1. Attributes of Intolerance | 149 |
| 2. Anti-Negro Attitudes and Social Mobility | 150 |
| 3. Attitudes Toward the Negro and Toward Controlling Institutions | 154 |
| APPENDIX | |
| 1. Distribution of Ethnic Origin Among the Sample | 191 |
| 2. Veterans' Reactions to the Interview | 193 |

LIST OF TABLES

xv

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. Reliability of Analytic Procedure | 212 |
| 4. Religious Denomination of Veterans' Parents | 218 |
| 5. "Do You Think Your Attitude Toward Religion Was Changed in Any Way by Army Life?" | 218 |
| 6. Ethnic Origin of Parents | 219 |
| 7. Salary Range | 219 |
| 8. Current Occupation | 220 |
| 9. Type of Army Service | 220 |
| 10. Illness and Injury During Service | 220 |
| 11. Length of Army Service | 221 |
| 12. "Now That the Veterans Are Back, How Do You Think They Are Going to Get Along?" | 221 |
| 13. Anti-Negro Attitude and Ethnic Origin of Parents | 221 |
| 14. Anti-Negro Attitude and Age | 222 |
| 15. Anti-Negro Attitude and Education | 222 |
| 16. Anti-Negro Attitude and Party Affiliation | 222 |
| 17. Anti-Negro Attitude and Religious Denomination | 223 |
| 18. Anti-Negro Attitude and Favorite Newspaper | 223 |
| 19. Anti-Negro Attitude and Divorce in Veteran's Family | 223 |
| 20. Anti-Negro Attitude and Current Salary | 224 |
| 21. Anti-Negro Attitude and Socioeconomic Status | 224 |

LIST OF CHARTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| A. Interrelation Between Anti-Semitic Attitudes | 28 |
| B. Distribution of Anti-Semitic Attitudes | 197 |
| C. Distribution of Anti-Negro Attitudes | 204 |

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the plan of this study reflects the period in which it was conceived and executed, the problems of intolerance and ethnic prejudice are, unfortunately, not bound to any year, or world political constellation. A study of war veterans, their anxieties about adjustment in a postwar world, and how they related to intolerance, showed that in the end these anxieties have much deeper roots than the fear of immediate tasks. It also showed that intolerance is as likely to be present in times of war as of peace, of full employment as of depression, since it fulfills important functions in maintaining the integration of the intolerant person.

In 1944, Max Horkheimer, then Director of the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee, developed plans for a comprehensive study of the problem of anti-Semitism. He hoped that such an investigation would add not only to our understanding of this particular and important problem of human relations, but would also permit greater insight into intolerance, "fascist" agitation, and, last but not least, into the structure of a society which permits so asocial a phenomenon as ethnic intolerance to persist. The task at hand seemed too extensive for any one group of researchers, and it was decided to set up a series of projects, each of which would select a specific area for independent investigation.

At Mr. Horkheimer's invitation Bruno Bettelheim undertook to serve as director for one of these research projects. Various plans were investigated at first before a final decision was reached. For example, the possibility was initially explored of comparing the ethnic attitudes of psychotic individuals with those of a normal group of people of comparable intelligence, education, family background, etc. The purpose would have been to learn whether a disintegrated person would prove free of ethnic intolerance, or whether, in his case, intolerance would take different forms from those observed among normal persons.

Interesting as this and several other alternative projects seemed, they were discarded as a basis for this research—particularly after the surrender of Germany and the prospect of peace. With the end of the war in view, and in terms of the then prevalent assumption that readjustment

to a peacetime economy would be difficult, it was felt that recently discharged veterans might become a group of much social import. It was therefore decided to single them out for careful study as to the origin, nature, and external forms of their ethnic intolerance. Once the study was under way, it became clear that a cross section of such veterans would be tantamount to a cross section of the younger age groups of our male urban population.

Edward A. Shils joined the project as codirector shortly after its inception. Full credit is due to him for an equal share with the director of the project in the construction of the original hypotheses, the selection of the variables and indices to be studied, the construction of the interview schedule, and the execution of the study. Unfortunately other duties took him to London after the data had been collected and after the main decisions regarding their coding and tabulation, in which he assumed a major responsibility, had been completed. He cannot be blamed for the shortcomings of this report, since he could not participate in the evaluation of the findings, as they are contained in this book.

Morris Janowitz, who joined the study in its early stages, assumed major responsibility for the actual collection of the data and their analysis.

Ruth Shils assisted in the construction of the interview schedule and in the training and supervision of the interviewers. Sebastian de Grazia directed the interviewers for a short period of time during the pilot phase of the project. Lucia Ackron, Susan Caudill, Ruth Chapin, Jane Luebbing, Meryl Rogers, and Betty Jane Tullis interviewed the men. Natalie Rogoff participated in the coding and analysis of the interview records and in the construction of the main indices.

The study itself was sponsored by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago and the authors wish to express their gratitude to Ralph W. Tyler, chairman of the Committee, for his valuable suggestions and active support of the project.

The American Jewish Committee financed the study by a grant from its Department of Scientific Research. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Horkheimer, who first as director and later as chief scientific consultant of the Department, but much more so as a friend, helped in developing the plan for the research, and made invaluable suggestions during its execution. The cooperation of Theodore W. Adorno in shaping the plan of the study is also deeply appreciated. After Samuel H. Flowerman joined the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish

Committee, of which he later became director, his patient understanding and helpfulness gave us support in presenting in this book a large segment of the material accumulated. We are especially obliged to Ruth Soffer for her endless battle for clarity of style which she waged so kindly.

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

THE LIMITATION OF AGGRESSION IS THE FIRST
AND PERHAPS THE HARDEST SACRIFICE WHICH
SOCIETY DEMANDS FROM EACH INDIVIDUAL.

Sigmund Freud

CHAPTER I

DYNAMIC APPROACH TO INTOLERANCE

An attempt has been made in this study to present an objective analysis and a systematic interpretation of the particular type of group hostility known as ethnic intolerance. Although this analysis is primarily an effort to contribute to a scientific theory of human behavior—its social basis and psychological motivation—we hope that the diagnosis so arrived at will prove useful in planning a cure for one of the major disorders in contemporary American society: ethnic discrimination and aggression. The authors believe that “pure” science, without the practical applications implied in its findings, is a sterile abstraction. True, the development of social science depends upon objective study unbiased by any wish for immediate practical applications. But research into the significant problems confronting society today must, necessarily, arrive at findings which have important implications for social planning and action.

Hostilities among groups—nations, classes, ethnic groups, or families—are alike in being directed by members of one group against those of another group in the name of certain collective symbols of identification. Such group hostility can thrive very well alongside of friendly, even intimate, relations between individuals of the two hostile groups, the accepted individual being considered an exception to his group. It is true that in many important respects the kinds of hostility among social groups differ widely. The particular goals that groups strive for, the particular social contexts in which they interact, all affect the forms of hostility. But if human behavior is to be understood and explained, the principles of group hostility in general must be determined. In other words, it is necessary to formulate and establish propositions which will cover the whole range of intergroup hostility and which will have a generalized explanatory value, even though they may not explain particular variations. They may even be derived from the intensive study of only one or a few types of group hostility.

The plan for any type of research must assume a theoretical framework, a body of hypotheses with central bearing on the phenomena under

investigation. If the research produces significant results, these validate, to some degree, the hypotheses which were initially assumed; if the research does not produce such results either the hypotheses or the research procedures are proved inadequate or invalid. For the research reported and discussed in these pages, particular hypotheses were selected which seemed likely to help in answering the central question: *What are the factors essentially associated with anti-Semitism and are these factors also associated with anti-Negro attitudes?* Obviously, the hypotheses had to be part of a central theory of human behavior and social organization, since the purpose of the study was to clarify their interconnection with anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes. Since no such theory has as yet found general acceptance, a tentative choice was made. The body of theories chosen to analyze human motivation was that of the dynamic theory of personality. In choosing psychoanalytic theory, it was recognized that the application of the theory beyond the individual, and particularly to the larger organization of society, was still relatively undeveloped. Yet it was our conviction—and especially so after having finished the study—that this theory seemed an exceedingly fruitful one in accounting for certain aspects of human behavior in society. This does not mean that, in basing our investigation on the psychoanalytic theory, the theory was regarded as a closed and finished system of propositions. On the contrary, it was assumed that a vast labor of reformulation and systematic testing remained to be done; indeed this study represents, among others, an effort to test the validity of dynamic theories of human behavior as they apply to phenomena of group interaction.

Compared with the relatively comprehensive formulation of psychoanalytic theory as applied to the individual and his motivation, no single view of the modern social organism within which the individual functions seemed equally adequate to cover the problems under investigation. Hence it was necessary to utilize various theoretical formulations on the organization of group life in a modern, industrialized society.

On the basis of these considerations, the following major hypotheses were evolved, which were then to be tested in an intensive study of a relatively small, but homogeneous, group.

First, hostility toward outgroups is a function of the hostile individual's feeling that he has suffered deprivations in the past.

Second, hostility toward outgroups is a function of the hostile indi-

vidual's anxiety in anticipation of future tasks, as inferred from his expectations of deprivation.

From the first and second hypotheses followed certain sub-hypotheses: (1) Past or anticipated deprivation leads to intolerance only if the individual has initially felt an obligation to succeed in mastering the task at hand. (2) Self-respect and self-love prevent an individual, so situated, from accepting failure as his own and he therefore ascribes it to aggressive and/or amoral behavior by an outgroup. (3) Once the individual has blamed a particular outgroup for his own failure to gain self-respect, those characteristics within the individual which are unacceptable to himself are fought by externalizing them and projecting them onto members of an outgroup.

The *third* hypothesis was that when the individual blames the outgroup for his failure at mastery of past and future experiences, and projects undesirable characteristics denied in himself onto members of the outgroup, such behavior is the consequence of a lack of ego strength and of inadequate controls which favor irrational discharge and evasion rather than rational action.

Related to this hypothesis was the sub-hypothesis that the individual blames his own inadequate integration on existing authorities. He feels that they do not provide the strong support he needs to be able to ignore or to deny his own ego weakness and often they are attacked with a simultaneous demand for stronger authorities.

Ethnic intolerance can be viewed in terms of the individual's position within the social structure either statically or dynamically. Therefore, as a *fourth* major hypothesis, it was assumed that ethnic intolerance was related more to the individual's dynamic movement within the structure of society than to his societal position at a particular moment. It was assumed that ethnic intolerance was more related to the individual's mobility within the social structure than to his economic situation, or his political or religious attitudes at any one time. As a sub-hypothesis it was assumed that intolerance would be more related to downward social mobility, while it was assumed that upward social mobility would be associated with ethnic tolerance.

At this point, it should be emphasized that these hypotheses were to be tested in a community where at least two important ethnic minorities were present, and that there are other communities where only one important minority is involved. It was expected that all phenomena connected with ethnic intolerance which seem to be concentrated on a single minority, where only one is present, would be separated among the

various minorities, where more than one is present. Such findings, though testable only in part, would tend to confirm the underlying assumption of the hypothesis that intolerance is a function of the structure and needs of society and not a function of the presence or absence of a particular ethnic minority.

It may be added that no claim is made that these hypotheses are universally applicable. They seemed useful in understanding hostility within modern industrialized communities which are characterized by a complex division of labor. Group hostilities take on different aspects in primitive cultures, in predominantly agricultural societies, and in cultural areas which are in a period of particular transition. Under those conditions other hypotheses might be required for understanding the particular forms in which group hostility may operate. In particular, the whole complex of special factors and conditions of the South, with its particular historical traditions and its transitional economy, were ruled out. However, it may well be that the question of ethnic hostility and of its political consequences, particularly in their relation to fascism, will in the main be decided in the big cities. Urban population is most subject to the instabilities of industrialism and urban areas contain the bulk of the population.

Despite the foregoing, it was felt that theoretical considerations of economic, social, and psychological hypotheses alone were not a sufficient basis for planning procedures in social research. They had to be supplemented by a backward look at the context in which similar phenomena have been appearing in the past, in order to correctly assess the more or less relevant contexts for the study at hand.

In recent times, the outstanding instance of ethnic intolerance, anti-Semitism, had its roots in Germany after the first World War. The chief promoters and followers of the anti-Semitic movement were former soldiers, unable to reintegrate themselves successfully into society. If ethnic intolerance should approach critical limits in the near future, and in this country, the reasons may well be similar to those which accounted for its development in Germany. Thus, theoretical as well as practical considerations suggested demobilized soldiers as the particular group of individuals to be studied.

Since a basic hypothesis was that persons who believe they have experienced deprivations are more disposed to ethnic intolerance, and since it was plausible that ex-soldiers who had undergone major deprivations in varying degrees might be specially responsive to intolerant agitation, it

seemed fitting to study ex-soldiers, rather than other groups. In this context, it should be realized that the army experience was not only one of deprivation but also one of security in the case of basic necessities and, for much of the time, orderliness of living.

The followers of Hitler had a strong desire to see violent change in the structure of a society which they felt had let them down, and they wished also to regain those advantages which the army had offered: the opportunity for hostile discharge against an enemy; a regulation of their lives which made it unnecessary to assume responsibility or make choices; security as regards food, shelter, clothing, and spending-money; and a relief from responsibility for their families.

Precisely because veterans have experienced all these things and also because of the prestige they once enjoyed, they may become a pivotal group in shaping postwar policy if and when the social and economic situation should lead to dissatisfaction and a desire for change. For the same reason, veterans as a group may become pawns in the formation of pressure groups.

It was not intended, of course, to compare soldiers with civilians and thus to arrive at specific differences in their attitudes. It was felt that it would be sufficient to study the veterans who then formed the most active part of the male population. Moreover, the problem of matching veterans with civilians of the same age, experience, personality characteristics, etc., had become nearly insoluble with the almost universal conscription of young men in the United States. The selection of veterans as the sample to be studied had several other advantages. It made it possible to hold certain variables relatively constant such as those of recent experiences, age, and, most important of all, the need to remake one's place after having been away in the army. Nor did military service interfere in the determination of factors underlying ethnic intolerance.

Therefore, the group selected for intensive study was a random sample of 150 male veterans of World War II who were residents of Chicago. Because of the added complexity of studying both urban and rural veterans, the sample was limited to an urban area. Therefore the conclusions on intolerance in this study do not necessarily apply to rural populations.

Veterans who had been officers were excluded from the study since their war experiences were sharply at variance with those of enlisted men. Most of the former came from social and economic backgrounds which differed markedly from those of enlisted men. Because of this restriction, the sample tended to represent the economic lower and lower middle classes more adequately. This was not unrealistic, for recent German his-

tory has shown that it was from these classes that the most ardent and energetic supporters of anti-Semitic parties were recruited. The men who tended to become officers were also more likely to possess some leadership qualities and overt intolerance among such individuals, if it developed, would be likely to take another pattern. However the facilities of the study were not large enough to sample adequately both officers and enlisted men and the former were excluded.

Other limitations, as to age, length of service, and the like were included in order to enhance the homogeneity of the sample. (Full details of the sampling procedure are described in the Appendix.) Members of those ethnic groups toward which hostility is most frequently directed were not included, i.e., Negroes, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans.

CHAPTER II

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC INTOLERANCE

THE PLAN OF THE RESEARCH

In recent years, a number of attempts have been made to estimate the extent of anti-Semitic attitudes in the United States. Since underlying hostility may reveal itself verbally, the responses collected in nationwide public opinion polls have been used repeatedly as an indirect measure of anti-Semitic hostility. Because of technical limitations, these efforts to measure anti-Semitism have failed to produce exact answers. At best they tell us how many persons verbalize negative reactions to Jews on a general, abstract level. But in a problem area such as that of intolerance, numbers are often less important than intensity of feeling or the importance of anti-Semitism in the emotional economy of the anti-Semite. Moreover, from a practical point of view, intensity of feeling is less relevant than readiness to action. Polls reveal little about the intensity of anti-Semitism, or about readiness to act, since the verbal statements they gather, most of them superficial in nature, are unreliable measures of an actual desire to take action against a minority.

Despite these limitations, national polls offer clues to the over-all incidence of anti-Semitism in the United States. The conclusions drawn from about twenty or thirty of them¹ indicate that not more than 10 per cent of those sampled spontaneously made anti-Semitic statements. One of the polls most frequently quoted bears out this observation. The *Fortune* Survey of February, 1946, revealed that 8.8 per cent of the nation's population was strongly anti-Semitic. This conclusion was based on the percentage who spontaneously named the Jews either as "a group harmful to the country unless curbed" or who spontaneously designated the Jews as "people trying to get ahead at the expense of people like yourself."

In addition to this "core" of almost 10 per cent, nationwide poll data have indicated that from 30 to 60 per cent offered various anti-Semitic responses when questioned directly about the Jews. Their anti-Semitic

¹ Flowerman, Samuel, and Jahoda, Marie: "Polls on Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, April, 1946, pp. 82-86.

remarks were not made spontaneously and were, generally speaking, less drastic in their criticism of Jews.

Gordon Allport, in 1944, found a similar distribution of anti-Semitic attitudes. He estimated that of our national population, "5 to 10 per cent are violently anti-Semitic, while perhaps 45 per cent are mildly bigoted in the same direction."²

The patterns of ethnic intolerance are, however, vastly more complex than one might expect if one were to accept the limited responses to public opinion polls at their face value. Equally, the reasons for intolerance are much more subtle than the simple rationalizations produced in response to poll questions, or in an effort to justify personal intolerance. Obviously it is not enough to merely discriminate between those who spontaneously make anti-Semitic remarks, those who make them only in response to a specific stimulus such as the naming of Jews, and those who make no anti-Semitic statements even when their attention is directed toward the problem.

A distinction must first be recognized between those persons who merely hold negative stereotyped value judgments about the Jews to be true, and those who openly express a desire to have Jews restricted, either politically, economically, or socially. But even there our study shows that an important differentiation can and must be made if one wishes to assess anti-Semitic attitudes correctly. There is a great difference between the man who says spontaneously that the Jews should be curbed (and insists that laws be passed or unlawful pressure exercised to that end), and another who may say the same thing at first but may realize, on further reflection, that such actions would be contrary to our basic liberties and form of government. The first may well be considered more of a danger to the well-being of the community than the second, unless the total situation should change so radically that the latter is no longer interested in safeguarding our basic institutions.

Some people make strongly anti-Semitic statements, only to change their opinions on further reflection. There are others who are prevented by their reflections from revealing their underlying attitudes in this matter to others—or even to themselves. In the latter case underlying attitudes remain repressed, unconscious at the moment, but may reveal themselves dangerously as soon as the repression ceases to be effective. Although there are wide circles of our society for whom ethnic intolerance is a part of the mores, written into the law, enforced by the main institutions of

² Allport, Gordon: "The Bigot in Our Midst," *Commonweal*, October 6, 1944, p. 588.

social control and supported by the channels of mass communication, the same mores caution that intolerance is better left unmentioned. Moreover, if intolerance is institutionalized or generally accepted much of the motive for discussing it disappears. The situation becomes quite different if Jews compete on the job or live next door.

Whether the average individual is ready to express his hostility toward minorities to a stranger will depend on many factors. One of them is the degree to which such discussion is an approved custom within his own circle. It must be realized that in many respects the public opinion poller is a stranger to his randomly selected subjects, many of whom do not feel close enough to him to discuss what they consider personal matters. It is another thing to express prejudice to closer associates, to those in whom one has confidence.

DESIGN OF THE INTERVIEW

The interests of the social researcher in studies such as this are not limited to statements made for public record. At least as important are the subject's full range, intensity, and shading of attitudes and the motivations which account for his public behavior. Although the subject may try to conceal some of them from all-too-public inspection, it is possible to understand them through an interview if the interviewer has first succeeded in gaining the confidence of his subject by establishing what is technically known as positive rapport. Only then can he gather information which may lead to an adequate understanding of the attitudes under investigation.

Interviewing people in connection with anti-Semitic attitudes is complicated by the fact that many people hold at least two different sets of attitudes on the question, one for general consumption, and another for private expression. Moreover, as with many other problems in which the individual's emotions are strongly involved, the reaction depends more or less on the context in which the problem appears. One man's outlook may be so constituted that the word-stimulus "Jew" evokes no strong reaction in connection with intellectual matters, while the same word-stimulus may arouse strong emotions in the context of economic practices. For another person, the reverse may be true. As a matter of fact, the study seemed to reveal that the intensity of anti-Semitism could not be adequately gauged on the basis of the veteran's reaction to the word-stimulus "Jew" in a single and particular context even if this simple reaction was of great violence. Rather, intense anti-Semitism could be

determined only when the negative reaction to the word-stimulus was persistent in the different contexts in which the Jew was presented throughout the interview.

For reasons discussed in the preceding chapter, this study of ethnic intolerance in general, and of anti-Semitism in particular, was based on the reactions of a group of 150 veterans of enlisted rank from the city of Chicago. In view of the character of the group, it seemed plausible that good rapport could be established by offering the veteran an opportunity, in the course of a pleasant though intensive interview, to express his personal views on the problem of adjustment to civilian life and a chance to recount his wartime experiences. It was expected that an informal talk with a woman interviewer about the current difficulties of adjustment and the hardships experienced in the war would aid rapport by permitting the veteran to express some of the tension which may have accumulated in him during his years of service.

In most cases, the understanding attitude of the interviewer and her interest in the interviewee's fate and difficulties produced two results: first, it lowered the individual's defenses, since this seemed a "safe" situation, in which one might speak freely; second, it relieved the feeling of discomfort at least about the present situation. Many statements by veterans indicated that they were open with interviewers on matters which had been preying on their minds for a long time, and about which they had had little opportunity to express themselves. Such statements seem to corroborate that the interview achieved its purpose in this regard. For example, one veteran declared:

"It was swell I think. You get a chance to say things that you don't get a chance to say except to friends."

In a number of cases, veterans revealed details of their wartime sex experiences which, they were quick to add, they did not wish made known, especially to their girl friends or wives. Thus it seems that the study succeeded in putting the subject at ease and in lowering the individual's constraint with regard to the admission of attitudes he thought should not be communicated.

This mode of approaching the veteran had two effects: By setting the individual at ease, he was enabled to express his hostile feelings more freely. On the other hand, the same ease did away with some of his superficial frustration and hostility and therefore decreased the need for discharge of hostility, whether through anti-Semitic remarks, or otherwise. This was in keeping with the purpose of the study which was less

interested in fleeting expressions of anti-Semitism due to chance annoyance than in underlying anti-Semitism, which would be present even if the immediate setting were not frustrating.

While the discharge of tension by way of anti-Semitic remarks was thus less necessary or attractive, it should not be overlooked that many of those interviewed may have been searching for common ground on which to meet the interviewer. There was just a chance that this factor may have been conducive to anti-Semitic remarks, but careful study of the records reveals that such was rarely the case. Moreover, a subject who felt that anti-Semitism was an easy and convenient meeting ground for forming personal relationships thereby revealed his conscious or unconscious conviction of the widespread character and general acceptance of anti-Semitic attitudes.

It was not the object of this research to study the individual's *readiness* to discharge tension in a hostile manner against any stimulus which was presented, but to study, instead, the individual's *habit* of discharging hostility chiefly by means of ethnic intolerance. If the first object had been chosen for study, it might have proved best to remind the individual, before long, of the unpleasantness of his past war and present adjustment experiences and, at the height of his annoyance over them, to introduce the word-stimulus "Jew." Since it was the second problem which was selected, the interview situation was handled quite differently.

Steps were taken to insure that superficial hostility, which might be discharged at random against any casual stimulus, would not be discharged in an anti-Semitic manner simply because the subject's attention had been directed toward the Jews. This was particularly important when interviewing a group of men who during the recent past had undergone the frustrations of military service and were currently undergoing the frustrating experience of adjustment to civilian life. Therefore, the stimulus "Jew" was presented only after many other topics had been introduced, such as politics, employment, marriage, and the army. These topics offered sufficient outlets for random discharge of hostility. If, during these portions of the interview, hostility was spontaneously discharged by means of anti-Semitic remarks, one could be more certain that an individual would reveal anti-Semitic hostility in many other contexts. It was felt that if the bulk of the interview avoided ethnic topics, it would then be possible—after rapport had been established and maintained—to include indirect and finally direct questions on ethnic attitudes. The stimulus "Jew," could then be introduced without having to fear

that reactions would be due to the presentation of the stimulus rather than to underlying permanent attitudes.

Such a procedure required that the interviews be extremely long and detailed and be administered by highly trained and skilled interviewers, well able to establish and maintain rapport. In view of the particular group studied, a small number of women were employed who were psychiatrically trained social workers with experience in public opinion surveying. Their skill in interviewing, combined with their ability to establish rapport, made the interview an interesting experience for most of the veterans.

The long interview took from four to seven hours and in several cases was administered in two sessions.³

In order to obtain data which would allow for comparative analysis, the interviews were carried out in as standardized a fashion as was compatible with maintaining rapport and insuring spontaneous reactions.⁴ The interviewer approached the veteran either by telephone, or, on the occasion of a home visit, by asking him whether he would be willing to be interviewed for a public opinion survey of veterans. She explained that this survey was being conducted by the University of Chicago in order to learn about veterans' opinions. Anonymity was assured and the veteran was told that the survey was not seeking the views of the individual veteran. The survey, he was told, was interested in finding out as a whole the opinions of the veterans living in the metropolitan area of Chicago. No promise was given that the men's answers would lead to a remedy of their complaints, but they were informed that all findings would be published and the veterans' feelings thus conveyed to the community at large.

DEGREES OF INTOLERANCE

On the basis of exploratory interviews with a small group of veterans who were not included in the final sample, it was found that for purposes

³ A copy of the interview is to be found in the Appendix on pages 213-218. There were more than 160 predetermined questions, excluding the neutral probes which were introduced to encourage the veteran to continue or to elaborate his statements.

⁴ Details on the procedures are found in the Appendix on pages 189, 190. As noted there, the following elements of the interview were standardized: (1) the person of the interviewer, (2) the method of approaching the subject, (3) the place of the interview, (4) the method of asking the predetermined questions and of probing for associative material, (5) the technique for recording the entire interview, and (6) the time period in which the interview took place.

of the study it would be necessary to distinguish four types of veterans on the basis of their attitudes toward Jews. These four types were designated as *intensely anti-Semitic*, *outspokenly anti-Semitic*, *stereotyped anti-Semitic*, and *tolerant* toward Jews.

Briefly, the four types may be defined as follows:

1. The *intensely anti-Semitic* veteran was spontaneously outspoken in expressing a preference for restrictive action against the Jews even before the subject was raised. For example, he might have advocated Hitler's solution to the Jewish problem here in America, when asked whether there were any groups of people trying to get ahead at his expense. When questioned directly about the Jews, he maintained his outspoken preference for restrictive action. For example, he might have objected to having Jews as next-door neighbors, to working on the same job with them, or he might have advocated prevention of intermarriage with Jews. Finally, he also displayed a wide range of unfavorable stereotyped opinions about the Jews.

2. The *outspokenly anti-Semitic* veteran revealed no spontaneous preference for restrictive action against the Jews. Instead, outspoken hostility toward the Jews emerged only toward the end of the interview when he was questioned directly. As in the case of the intensely anti-Semitic veteran, his thinking contained a wide range of unfavorable stereotypes.

3. The *stereotyped anti-Semitic* veteran expressed no preference for hostile or restrictive action against the Jews, either spontaneously or when questioned directly. Instead, he merely expressed a variety of stereotyped notions about the Jews, including some which were not necessarily unfavorable from his point of view. For example, he might have thought Jews clannish, or that they are people who engage in shrewd business methods. But he felt, for any number of reasons, that these characteristics did not justify aggressive action against the Jews, by the government or by society at large.

4. The *tolerant* veteran revealed no elaborate stereotyped beliefs about the Jews although even the most tolerant veterans expressed isolated stereotypes from time to time. Moreover, neither spontaneously nor when questioned directly, did he advocate restrictive action against the Jews. In fact, on policy questions, the tolerant person either denied any just grounds for differentiating between Jews and non-Jews, or affirmed his lack of concern about such differences.

On the basis of the experience gained in the exploratory study, the

interview situation was so constructed that the responses to questions would permit a clear delineation of these four types.⁵

CONTENT OF INTERVIEW

A description of the interview in broad outline may indicate how such delimitation was achieved. The first portion of the interview was designed to offer the veteran an opportunity for the spontaneous expression of hostility against the Jews without leading the veteran's attention to the subject.

After some casual initial talk intended to create a pleasant, conversational atmosphere, the recorded portion of the interview opened with very general questioning as to how the veteran thought that "things were going to turn out now that the war is over," and what and who "would interfere with the veteran's having a decent life." His answers were followed by detailed probing and produced a first chance for verbal discharge of tension or hostility.

The interview then turned from the problem of a decent life for all to problems more particular to the veteran's readjustment to civilian life. In this connection and in order to bring to light hostility directed against persons and groups, the veteran was asked whether he thought there were any groups of people who might be harmful unless curbed, and what groups, if any, were trying to get ahead at the expense of people like himself. A specific chance was offered for expressions of hostility by asking whether some people or groups got "all the breaks," whether deservedly so, and who they might be.

Next, the veteran was questioned on his attitudes toward political parties, employment, economic security, and the last depression. Some of these questions supplied further indirect opportunity for the spontaneous expression of hostility toward the Jews and other minorities. The discussion of economic security led easily to the problem of seniority on the job. In this context, ethnic stimuli were introduced for the first time in the interview, by querying whether veterans, white people, native-born Americans, or Gentiles should receive employment preferences when jobs were scarce.⁶

These questions concluded the first portion of the interview, which was designed to permit discrimination between spontaneous and nonspon-

⁵ The full methodological and statistical details of this procedure may be found in the Appendix on pages 195-208.

⁶ More than forty questions not mentioning minority groups had been asked previously.

neous readiness to discharge tension by means of ethnic intolerance. This first section of the interview was designed to throw light on the subject's generalized attitudes, his generalized dissatisfaction, fears, and apprehensions of a less personal nature. Its purpose was also to assess the veteran's feeling either of competency or of being overpowered by the political or economic system; it also permitted evaluation of his feelings of deprivation and of his attitudes toward symbols of authority.

Questions on occupational and financial aspirations for the future led up to the second part of the interview which was more personal in character. Questions on marital status and expectations, and on plans for child rearing, were followed by a detailed inquiry into the man's army experience. In this second portion of the interview, and especially in connection with army experiences, there were extended opportunities to display stereotyped thinking and thereby contribute to the differentiation of the various types of anti-Semites. This was particularly true of such questions as who the veterans thought were the "troublemakers" and "goldbrickers" in the army.

The third and last portion of the interview contained the direct questions on Jews and Negroes. It was designed to determine which men consistently displayed tolerant attitudes. This section began with a series of questions on international topics and foreign countries, which were related to the previous discussion about army life. At this point, the stimuli "Negro" and "Jew" were introduced directly; first in connection with what kinds of soldiers they made, and then in regard to the subject's preference or nonpreference for social and economic association with them, as well as his views on the modification of current interethnic patterns.⁷

Charting the subject's attitudes as to the proper limits of his social contacts with Jews and Negroes—that is, technically speaking, his social distance from them—supplied an indirect measure of his disposition towards discrimination of members of these groups. One method of studying social distance is to probe for the limits of social contact common and relevant to the everyday living of the individuals involved. In this sample it would have been pointless to ask whether Jews should be excluded from membership in "social register" clubs, since almost none of the veterans themselves would have been eligible. Instead, social distance was measured in terms of approval or disapproval of common employment, neighborhood residence, and intermarriage.

⁷ This final series of direct ethnic questions came after more than 80 per cent of the attitude portion of the interview had been completed.

At this point, the part of the interview intended to evoke associational answers ended. Further questions were asked requiring direct and factual answers about age, length of domicile, family extraction and composition, income, education, reading and listening habits, and so on.

TABLE 1 (II)
DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM

| | Number | Percentage |
|-------------|--------|------------|
| Tolerant | 61 | 41 |
| Stereotyped | 42 | 28 |
| Outspoken | 41 | 27 |
| Intense | 6 | 4 |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

In order to adequately characterize the anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes as they were gathered from each individual, and before the individual cases are compressed into over-all statistical conclusions for each of the four categories on the tolerance-intolerance continuum, excerpts from one characteristic case in each category will be presented.

The number of men who fell into each of the four categories can be seen from table 1 (II).

From this table it is evident that less than half of the subjects were tolerant, while slightly more than a fourth were stereotyped and another fourth outspokenly anti-Semitic. Only a very small fraction were intensely anti-Semitic. In this sample of veterans, the approximately 60 per cent who displayed some measure of intolerance toward Jews was roughly the same percentage found in national opinion polls. The number falling within the intensely anti-Semitic category was quite small, and they are therefore analyzed together with the outspokenly anti-Semitic veterans throughout this study. However, since they are potential activists whose political role might be significant, should their dissatisfaction increase and be channelized into organized anti-Semitic agitation, it is important to examine one of their number along with the other more frequent types.

TYPICAL EXAMPLES

CASE ONE: AN INTENSELY ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. As defined above, the *intensely intolerant* veteran spontaneously declared a preference

for restrictive action against Jews, and, in addition, expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about them.

Mike, a thirty-two year old switchman, was born in Chicago, of Irish Catholic parentage, as one of six children. His father was a conductor on the elevated lines. After four years of high school, Mike became a beverage salesman. He married shortly after he went into the army, where he served as an airplane mechanic. Thereafter he was separated from his wife for most of the four and one-half years of his army life.

On his current job he earned approximately \$55.00 per week. The *Chicago Tribune* was his regular newspaper and he was a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and of the Switchmen of North America.

Attitudes toward Jews. As was typical for the few intense anti-Semites, Mike's hostility toward minorities emerged spontaneously and explosively in the initial portions of the interview.

His remarks were pessimistic from the outset, and he took frequent opportunity to denounce politicians and big business for the difficulties in which Chicago, the United States, and the world found themselves. After an outburst in which he characterized the capitalists as the people who really run the government and who got the United States into war, the question was put to him: "As things stand, would you say that some people get all the breaks and others get none?" His answer was:

"Yeah, the Hebes. (And without probe or other encouragement, he elaborated:) I think Hitler did a good thing. They're born that way, they can make a dollar where a white person starves. Where they come in, the niggers follow and knock the property down. They're awfully clannish for another thing. Take the Irish, they don't trust each other. The Jews patronize each other."

Thereafter, and throughout the interview, he described the Jews in outbursts of negative character and urged that repressive measures be used against them. When, in a probe following the above response, he was asked whether he felt that the Jews deserved the breaks they got, he declared:

"No, I think they should put them all in Africa. Yeah, I certainly would. (Pause.) Conscientious objectors is another thing. They should take their citizenship and deport them. If this country isn't good enough for them to fight for, it isn't good enough to live in. They had a lot of jobs in the army where they didn't have to carry a rifle."

His views on the role of the Jew in the army were dominated by the fact that his outfit had had a Jewish chaplain.

"We had a Jewish rabbi for group chaplain, and we had a Catholic priest come around three times a week. . . . I don't see why they gave us that Jewish chaplain. There were only about ten Jews in our outfit of 2,500 men. They'd never make good regular army soldiers. They're below the average. They just aren't cut out for military life. (In the army) I've only seen about four Jews that I know of. One of them was kill crazy. . . ."

At the end of the interview, when questioned directly about the Jews, Mike reiterated his demand that Jews be deported, and gave as his reason:

"They're too clannish, they don't mix. All your big industries are controlled by them. Your movies are all controlled."

He favored the prevention of intermarriage: "You get half-castes." He objected to living next door to Jews. He was opposed to working on the same job with a Jew:

"If I could get away from it I would. They kill a job. They overproduce. A Negro will never try to get ahead of a white man where a Jew would."

Finally, as a solution to the problems of interethnic relations, he advocated:

"Get a Hitler over here, he'd take care of them. (Laughs.) They should curb them somehow, they should not let any more in. No matter what country they get into, they get into money."

Among other opinions frequently held to be true by extreme anti-Semites, Mike suspected that President Roosevelt was of Jewish ancestry:

"Sometimes I think Roosevelt was part Jewish—he sure took care of them Hebes. We cheered over in England when he died. They're piggish. They demand the best, but then when they get the bill they kick."

Attitudes toward Negroes. Negroes too, were spontaneously used as objects for discharge of intense, verbal hostility, and restrictive measures were advocated. First spontaneous mention of Negroes occurred early when he recalled his army experiences in England. The lack of a clear color line there was a source of annoyance:

"I could talk all night about England. Being in England is like living on Maxwell Street.⁸ In the small towns they have no plumbing, a toilet outside and several families use it. . . . It's a backward country. . . . Another thing was the color line. There wasn't any. It was common to see a Negro with a white girl."

The Negro as a symbol of sexual rivalry recurred spontaneously in the

⁸ A slum thoroughfare in Chicago crowded with shops and stalls which are chiefly Jewish-owned.

interview even after the discussion of interethnic relations was guided into other areas. When, in the portion of the interview dealing with economic expectations, he was asked about equal employment treatment for Negroes, he replied:

"That's a delicate question. I hate them myself. They should put them in one section of the city and keep them in there. They're giving them too much independence. (In which way?) It was disgusting over in England. You could walk down the street and see a beautiful English girl go down the street with a nigger and wheeling a colored baby. They'd write home to get underwear to give these girls. It was disgusting. (Pause.) I talked to a corporal in the infantry that saw them in combat and said they weren't up to par in fighting either."

On the direct questions designed to probe the limits of his social distance from Negroes, he scored the highest possible intolerance score. He objected to intermarriage: "It would do away with the white race entirely. You won't have a white race left." He objected to Negroes moving in next door to him. "It ruins a neighborhood, lowers it." He objected to working on the same job with a Negro. "That's the reason I left the post office. That place was lousy with them, about eight to one." In fact, he said, he would only eat with Negroes if he had to.

Finally, he viewed the solution of Negro-white relations in terms of strict segregation.

"The only trouble with colored people is the way they increase. They don't care how they live. And you know yourself you see them in department stores where you didn't a few years ago. . . . As long as they're all over the country now, put them in one section and don't let them out."

CASE TWO: AN OUTSPOKENLY ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. As defined above the *outspokenly anti-Semitic* veteran responded to direct questions by declaring a preference for restrictive action against Jews, and, in addition, expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about the Jews.

Peter, a thirty-five year old semiskilled worker in a machine shop, was born in Chicago of Italian-Catholic parentage, as one of three children. His father was a laborer. After four years of high school, Peter went to work in a machine shop with no special technical training. He had never married; while in the army for three and one-half years, he served as a military policeman in the European theater.

On his current job Peter earned \$35.00 per week. The *Chicago Tribune* and *Herald American* were his favorite newspapers; he was not a member of any organization.

Attitudes toward Jews. Although Peter's stereotyped characterizations of the Jews emerged only after he was questioned directly, his stereo-

typed attitudes led him to advocate a variety of restrictions. His first mention of Jews was in the middle portion of the interview dealing with economic expectations and the question of employment preference for Gentiles during periods of depression. (This may be contrasted with Mike's interview, in which Jews were mentioned spontaneously in the initial portion of the interview.) Peter was convinced of the inevitability of another depression in about seven years. "The unemployment will be bad enough so that we'll have to have war with Russia to bring us out of it." He saw himself unequipped to deal with the effect of a depression except by going on relief. When asked whether Gentiles should be given first chance if there were not enough jobs to go around he laughed nervously and said:

"They (the Jews) usually go into business for themselves. They have money and stick together. I've only known two that ever worked in a factory. The Gentiles will stick to a job while if a Jew gets \$500 he'll quit and open a store."

He felt that:

"The Jews in the army did right well for themselves. They were treated all right. Our first sergeant was Jewish. He didn't qualify for it, he got it through drag."

As a solution to the Jewish problem, he suggested deportation:

"Personally I would send them all back to Jerusalem. They're not a creative race, they're always counting their money. It was the Germans, Irish, and the Italians and the Russians that built up this country. These races aren't too proud to work. The Jews control the money and stick together."

When, toward the end of the interview, Peter was questioned directly on his attitudes toward Jews in different social situations, he was predominantly, if not completely, hostile. He objected to intermarriage, not on racial grounds but "because of religious difficulties" and was opposed to working with Jews. "They're not experienced and wouldn't be dependable on a job. It requires skill that they don't have because they don't work on jobs." On the other hand, he was tolerant of the prospect of Jews living next door to him. "He could have his business, and I could have mine. We could keep to ourselves."

Attitudes toward Negroes. Peter made no spontaneous mention of Negroes. When the subject was introduced by the interviewer, he revealed a thoroughly stereotyped attitude and made repeated demands for restrictive action against them.

Discussion of employment rights of Negroes produced the following outburst:

"Well, Mussolini said that if white people didn't watch out, the colored people would rule the world. I'm not prejudiced though. I think the Negroes should have their place. I don't know, the Negroes today, the majority of them are lazy and they don't seem to be able to get away from their ancestry, although we try to educate them. They have their peculiar ways and carry on just like wild men. You should see them in their own neighborhood. White people should get preference. The Negroes are expanding, they have no birth control, and if we aren't careful they'll take over in about a hundred years."

In describing the Negro in the army, he said:

"The Negroes were treated very well. Most of them had physical handicaps and got good jobs. They were put into the Quartermaster Corps. They abused their jobs. They were the ones that sold our supplies and cheated. . . . They didn't do any fighting. We got along with them as long as they stayed in their place. We didn't associate with each other. They kept on the other side of the line. . . ."

The full meaning of Peter's attitudes emerged as he commented on the question of social distance:

"They're like their ancestors. They're lazy and of different color and from a different climate. They'll never acclimate to this climate or to the ways of the white man. They're slow in education. Their ancestors were cannibals and wild, and they haven't gotten over that."

He was emphatic in urging prevention of intermarriage.

"That wouldn't help to keep the ideals of America up. It would change the whole evolution of this country. When you speak of an American, you speak of a white person. Overseas the Negroes called themselves 'American Indians.'"

When asked about having Negroes as next-door neighbors, he said:

"We have them in my own neighborhood, and I know from personal observation that their habits are very bad, they're dirty, loud, and filthy. . . . (As fellow workers.) They're careless and lazy. I would have no confidence in them. They're wild and they're not clean. Their body has aroma of a bad smell. A white person might be more untidy than a Negro, but I could tolerate that. I have observed them personally, and I don't think they'll ever work into the ways of the white man and this is because of their ancestors. They (the Negroes) should be isolated in different states and put them there to stay and let them have the same privileges as the whites in those states. (Pause.) I guess that wouldn't be very democratic. They might want to live in states that weren't set aside for them. They should be allowed to live in any state that they wanted to. Maybe it would be better to isolate them in different sections of the different states."

CASE THREE: A STEREOTYPED ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. The *stereotyped anti-Semite* has been defined as an individual who expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about the Jews, but who rejected the notion of any restrictive action against the Jews.⁹

George, a twenty-eight year old bank clerk, was born in Chicago of German-Lutheran parentage, as one of two brothers. After four years of high school and one term in a banking school, he went to work as a bank clerk. His four years of army service were mostly spent in combat in the Far East. He returned home to be married, and took up a bank clerk's job which was currently paying \$43.00 per week. His wife was also employed.

The *Daily News* and the *Tribune* were his regular newspapers. George was a member of the American Legion.

Attitudes toward Jews. George made no spontaneous mention of the Jews in response to any of the indirect questions designed to elicit ethnic hostility. His mild stereotypes about the Jews first emerged when, toward the end of the interview, he was asked for his opinions about their behavior in the army. He replied:

"We didn't see many of them in the front lines. Those that were there had all the privileges anyone else did. I don't believe they were mistreated. Most of them were in the Medical Corps and base sections."

"Yes, they did (make good soldiers). . . . In some cases they were as good as the next man. A few were killed in the front lines. It is true that a Jew tries to use his brain to get him out of things and is sly. It usually worked, too."

He also held stereotyped opinions of the Jew in business and finance:

"They got hold of all the financial ends in this country. I don't dislike them, but I don't like them because a Jew has no scruples when he's out to get ahead. It's at his best friend's expense that he'll get ahead. I don't care to deal with Jews, but nowadays you can't help it because they're in every business field."

Despite these stereotypes, he showed little aggressiveness on the question of what should be done about the Jews:

"There's nothing much you can do about it. They have as much right to live here as anybody else. . . . You can't force anybody to leave the country, but I don't believe we should take any more in."

⁹ The absence of demands for restrictive action was easily established by questions as to whether such action should be taken. However, subjects who stated that no restrictive action should be taken because there was no way to assure their success, were subsumed in the category of the outspoken anti-Semites.

This last opinion was in line with his more general views on immigration. He was opposed to any further entries into the United States and felt that the European refugee problem should be handled by the shipment abroad of American Red Cross supplies.

The range of social distance questions completed a picture of passive acceptance, toward the Jews. He was opposed to the prevention of intermarriage. "No, you can't stop that. It's up to the individual. He makes his nest and he's got to lie in it. There are plenty of white men marrying Jewish women nowadays." He had no objection to having Jews move next door to him. "No, it all depends upon what type he is. I have a friend who is a Jew—one of the finest types of persons I know. I don't know why he shouldn't move in next door to me." Finally he expressed no objections to working with a Jew.

Attitudes toward Negroes. George's attitudes toward Negroes contained a mixture of individual stereotypes, a mild personal tolerance toward them, and a belief that the conditions of Negro life ought to be bettered. At the same time, he insisted that segregation was more and more required if only because of the attitudes of other whites.

When the Negro was mentioned, he declared:

"I don't believe in difference between race. No matter what color a person is, providing he's a good citizen, he should have an equal chance at the job. I don't believe in inequality there. It's true some things will have to be done about the colored people because the problem is becoming acute. Pretty soon they'll have to segregate them because there are people who can't stand them to live next to them. But there are a lot of colored people who're cleaner and neater than white people."

As a solution to Negro-white relations, he stated: "I believe that a Negro sooner or later will have to live in certain parts of the city. I could get along with them, but the average white man can't. He's here, he's human, he must have a place to live and work. He should be taught to live clean. That might help."

His personal tolerance of the Negro extended to numerous areas of personal contact. He opposed prevention of intermarriage.

"It's up to the individual. If a white person likes a Negro and wants to marry, why shouldn't he? That's his problem. But I don't believe a white man would care to do a thing like that: I wouldn't. Not that I have any feelings against them."

He would accept Negroes as neighbors.

"If he's a good neighbor, a good clean man, does things to keep up his property—better than a dirty, white man." (As fellow workers:) "I've worked

with them already. Good workers and they've got to earn a living just like anybody else. After all, our natives are colored, and we worked with them. They were our best friends over there."

George's stereotypes about the Negro included the oft-encountered ones of the inability of Negroes to be combat soldiers, and of general laziness:

"From the reports I've heard they didn't stand up under combat. . . . I think they got the makings of smart people if they get rid of their lazy streak, get their homes and persons cleaned up."

CASE FOUR: A VETERAN TOLERANT TOWARD THE JEWS. The *tolerant veteran* was defined as an individual who held no stereotypes or only an occasional isolated stereotype about Jews and who denied the desirability of restrictive action against them.

John, a twenty-six year old mechanic, was born in Chicago of Austrian-Evangelical parentage, as one of eight children. His father was an ornamental ironworker. After four years of high school, John went to work as an apprentice in an ironworks factory. He was single; while in the army for three years he served as a light ordnance maintenance mechanic. On his current job, as a mechanic in a crane factory, he earned \$65.00 per week. He was a regular reader of the *Chicago Tribune*, a member of the American Federation of Labor, and of the social club of his church.

Attitudes toward Jews. John made no spontaneous mention of ethnic minorities during the initial portion of the interview, or in response to any of the indirect questions. When, toward the end of the interview, the subject was raised directly, he displayed a pattern of tolerance toward the Jews despite one isolated stereotype. On the other hand he employed a wide range of stereotypes about Negroes, and although he declared himself for equal treatment of Negroes, he insisted on segregation.

John's isolated stereotype about Jews emerged in connection with army life: "They were treated all right as far as I know. They all seemed to get pretty good jobs—either clerks or in the medics—postal clerks, company clerks and things like that." Nevertheless, when asked "How did the fellows in your outfit get along with Jews," he responded, "The ones in our outfit mixed right in. There was no ill feelings. Everybody got along."

In the various questions concerning interethnic relations, John displayed consistent and tolerant attitudes toward the Jews. He had no objection to intermarriage, in fact, he favored it as a policy to improve interethnic relations. "Don't think any harm can come to the Gentiles

marrying the Jews. It may cause better relations between the two if more were to marry."

With regard to employment preference, he would favor:

"The person that can do the job and has been there the longest. As far as any race, color, or creed—that shouldn't interfere in any way."

He summarized his attitude toward the Jews associatively as follows:

"I don't think there's any reason for ill feeling between the Jews and the Gentiles. That's caused a lot of trouble as in Germany, and I think we should overcome it. They say Jews have all the money—well, some of them do, but there are many who don't. It's just one of those things that grew. And here it shouldn't make any difference what the race, color, or creed of a man is."

Attitudes toward Negroes. John's opinions on the position of the Negro in the army showed a strange mixture of stereotypes combined with a limited amount of personal observation.

"It's true that they were kept apart. They had the same rights as the whites, I think, even though they were segregated."

To the question of whether Negroes made good soldiers, he replied:

"They made good combat soldiers if they were mixed in with the whites. There at the last they were mixed in, given infantry training, and ten or twelve put in with a white company. Then they were good; but when they were a whole division by themselves, they weren't. (In what way?) Don't know why. It seemed like they needed the leadership or the courage of the whites."

It is interesting to note the line which separated demands for tolerance toward the Negro from those for anti-Negro segregation and restrictions. John objected to intermarriage:

"Well, that's something I don't approve of. (Pause.) But it's entirely up to the individual. As far as the government interfering—it shouldn't. Every man should have the right to his own opinion."

He objected to Negroes moving in next door to his house:

"Yes, I would. I'll tell you, it's just the idea that as soon as one moved in all the rest would soon follow suit and then you'd be the only white left. There is that and the fact that property evaluation would go down. They just don't take care of their homes the way a white man does. It just seems Negro nature, the greatest percentage of them. He just doesn't have the initiative that the white man does to keep up his house. All his money goes into clothes, drinks, or something like that. That is, not all of them. There are some different, but that's the greatest per cent."

But on employment preferences, he expressed opposition to restrictions:

"I think they should be given the same advantages as the whites to make a living. You do find some very brilliant Negroes, and I don't think they should be hindered just because they're colored."

His response to the question of what should be done about the Negro in this country revealed his more general underlying attitude.

"They should be given freedom of speech and of the press. They should have all those rights. I think they should stay in their own restricted areas for the simple reason that as soon as they get in a neighborhood, the property evaluation goes down. The whites move out. If they could just move anywhere, they would soon ruin the city. But outside of that they should have all the rights."

John's general level of tolerance may be inferred from his answer to the question, "In your experience in the army, what kind of fellows were the biggest 'goldbrickers'?"

"Well, they were just individuals. All kinds. Some from the South and others from the North. Don't think you could say that one was more toward 'goldbricking' than the other."

COMPARISON OF ANTI-SEMITIC AND ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

From these case studies it appears that attitudes of tolerance or intolerance are generalized to some degree, since almost all those who were intolerant of Jews were also intolerant of Negroes, but the intensity of intolerance varied. Although anti-Negro attitudes are separately discussed in Chapter VIII, an analysis of the interrelation of these two expressions of ethnic hostility seems fitting at this point. The same method used in analyzing the nature and degree of intolerance toward Jews was used with some slight modifications in the analysis of anti-Negro attitudes. (See Appendix.)

Table 2(II) shows that one-sixth of the veterans had attitudes which

TABLE 2(II)
DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

| | Number | Percentage |
|-------------|--------|------------|
| Tolerant | 12 | 8 |
| Stereotyped | 40 | 27 |
| Outspoken | 74 | 49 |
| Intense | 24 | 16 |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

were intensely anti-Negro, while half of them were outspokenly so. One-fourth held unfavorable stereotypes about Negroes to be true; at the same time nearly all of them called for equality of rights and opportunity but under conditions of segregation. Less than a tenth of the veterans could be classified as tolerant toward Negroes.

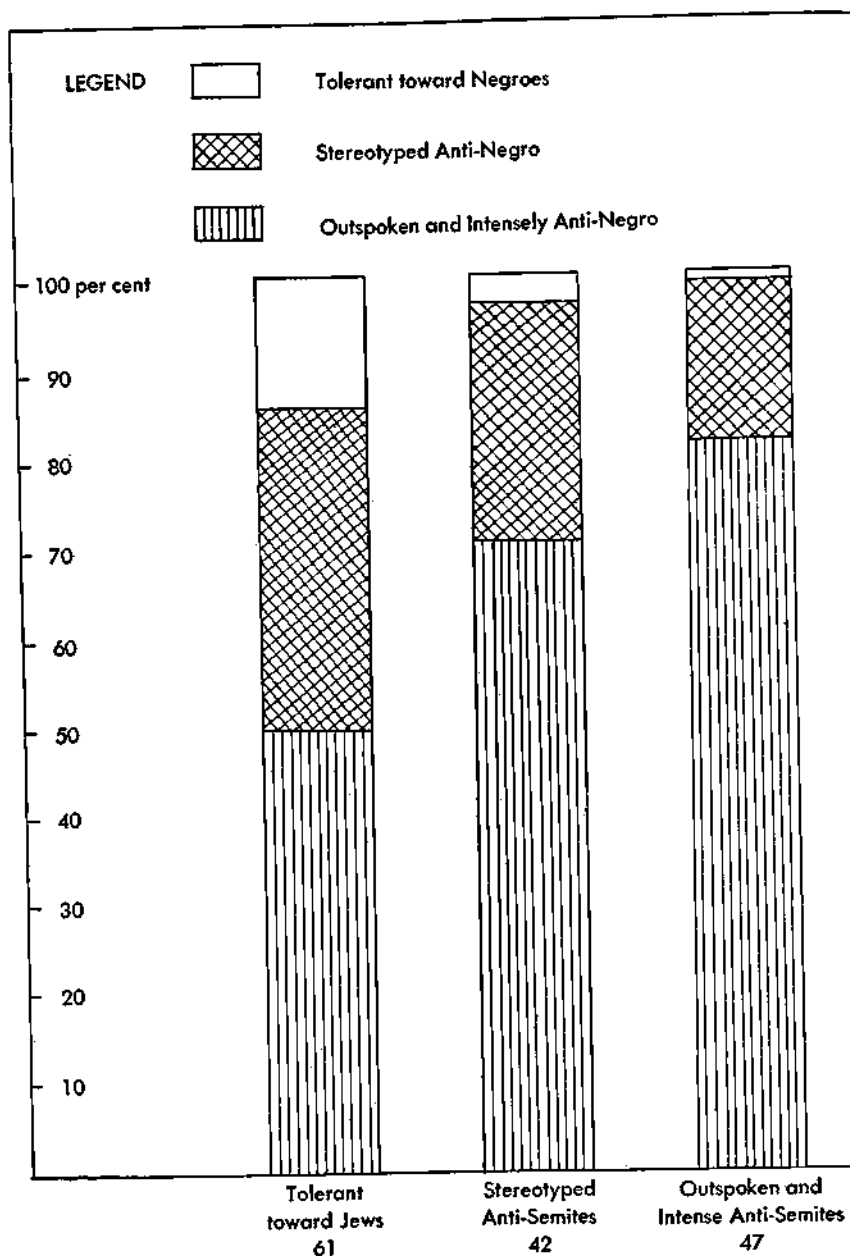
Merely to note that the incidence of tolerance is lower for the Negro, as these data indicate, does not fully reveal the association which exists between intolerance toward the Negro and intolerance toward the Jew. In the majority of cases, for example, tolerance toward Jews was coexistent with stereotyped and even more marked intolerance of the Negro. (See Chart A.) As the degree of intolerance toward the Jew increased, it was generally accompanied by an even greater degree of intolerance toward the Negro. The reversed pattern—that is, tolerance toward the Negro accompanied by outspoken anti-Semitism—occurred in only *one* case. This case may be explained by the fact that this man's hostility toward the Jews was limited to a special subclass of Jews—namely, alien Jews.

Other interesting differences in intolerance can best be seen by a comparative examination of how the Jew and the Negro fared with respect to demands for restrictive action generally, and also in specific areas of interethnic relations.

For obvious reasons, the questions designed to reveal intolerance toward the Jews were not equally likely to reveal anti-Negro feeling. For example, on general questioning as to the solution of the Jewish problem, outspoken and intense anti-Semites often recommended specific and detailed restrictions such as the curbing of immigration or even deportation, especially to Palestine. For the Negro, expressions of restrictive desires were vague and undifferentiated. Instead of concrete demands of a repressive nature, such statements were made as: Negroes should be kept in their place; they have too much liberty. Or: Since sending them back is impossible, they should be kept at a distance.

It required more specific questions to determine a subject's concrete attitudes in this respect. Therefore, a series of four questions was asked dealing with situations likely to occur in the everyday life of the veteran. (See Table 3(II).) The tabulation shows that the character of expressed hostility depended on the area of interaction. There was only one question which evoked the same degree of intolerance for Jews and Negroes, namely, whether they should be forced to leave the country. Obviously, none but the most intolerant persons would welcome such extreme action. While the outspoken anti-Semite could rationalize his discriminatory

CHART A
INTERRELATION BETWEEN ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES
AND ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES



demands by claiming that the Jews themselves want to leave the country, no such claims could be—or in fact were—made in the case of the Negroes.

With respect to common employment with Negroes or Jews, greater prejudice was shown toward the Negro. Ten per cent said they would be

TABLE 3(II)
ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES
(on Selected Questions)

| | Attitude toward Jews | | Attitude toward Negroes | |
|--|-------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| <i>Should Jews (Negroes) Be Forced to Leave the Country?</i> | | | | |
| Yes | 16 | 11 | 25 | 17 |
| Yes—particular class ^a | 14 | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| No | 114 | 76 | 115 | 77 |
| Don't know and Other ^b | 6 | 4 | 8 | 5 |
| <i>Would You Be Willing to Have A Jew (A Negro) Work in the Same Job That You Are Doing?</i> | | | | |
| Yes | 120 | 80 | 71 | 47 |
| No | 16 | 11 | 75 | 50 |
| Don't know and Other ^b | 14 | 9 | 4 | 3 |
| <i>Would You Object to A Jew (A Negro) Moving in Next Door to Your House?</i> | | | | |
| Yes | 25 | 17 | 123 | 82 |
| No | 116 | 77 | 17 | 11 |
| Other ^b | 9 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| <i>Should Jews (Negroes) Be Prevented from Intermarriage?</i> | | | | |
| Yes | 10 | 7 | 114 | 76 |
| No | 130 | 87 | 32 | 21 |
| Don't know and Other ^b | 10 | 6 | 4 | 3 |

^a Includes alien Jews, recent Jewish refugees, etc.

^b Includes only responses which could not reliably be classified as "yes" or "no."

unwilling to have a Jew work on the job with them, but more than half were unwilling to work with Negroes under any circumstances, or only if Negroes were in inferior positions. In other words, 40 per cent more of the veterans were hostile toward the Negroes than toward the Jews in this regard.

The greatest difference between attitudes toward Jews and Negroes

was found to exist on the question of intermarriage. It was to be expected that the feeling against intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews as against intermarriage between Negroes and whites would differ considerably in degree. Three-fourths of the veterans were opposed to intermarriage between Negroes and whites, a figure which was almost 70 per cent higher than those who rejected intermarriage between gentiles and Jews.

Contrary to popularly held notions, the level of hostility toward intermarriage was most similar to that displayed against close residence with Negroes. Over 80 per cent of the sample objected to having Negroes as next-door neighbors; a figure which is 65 per cent higher than the number who objected to having Jews move in as next-door neighbors.¹⁰

Thus, we see that attitude patterns toward Jews and Negroes with regard to intermarriage and mixed housing present a similar level of hostility for each minority and may indicate a common underlying sentiment. It seems difficult to maintain the usually proffered explanation that segregation in housing is carried out mainly for economic reasons, while marriage restrictions are supposed to result from sex attitudes. Two such different explanations will not suffice to explain the similarity of attitude toward these seemingly different aspects of living together.¹¹

It has been recognized that sexual rivalry and fear, as well as suppressed desires, are often projected onto members of an outgroup. However, it is striking to note the degree to which this type of hostile projection is concentrated on the Negro group and is *not* directed toward the Jew.¹² In the main, responses on intermarriage with Jews were conspicuously free of sexually oriented symbols from which one could have inferred projection of repressed sexual desires. Neither in response to the question of intermarriage, nor in any other part of the interview were the Jews characterized as persons who engaged in sexually immoral or deviant behavior. This stands in sharp contrast to an important element of European anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic agitation which stressed the Jew's supposed sexual immorality.

The fact that the interviews were conducted by women interviewers

¹⁰ The difference between the number of those who objected to Negroes moving in next door and of those who thought intermarriage with Negroes should be prevented is below statistical significance.

¹¹ Currently, it is a focal point of democratic policy to eliminate segregation in housing. It is felt that changes in interethnic patterns are possible in this area, even while underlying prejudice about sexual and marital relations remains unchanged. This position seems difficult to maintain in view of the interrelatedness of these attitudes as indicated by the similarly high level of hostility.

¹² For a fuller discussion of this observation see Chapter VIII.

cannot explain the absence of this characterization. A number of those interviewed discussed illicit sex relations on the part of soldiers. (These remarks were not simply bravado, since the topic was usually discussed with reluctance and expressions of guilt.) Moreover, sexual allusions to the Negro were not infrequent. In characterizing the Negro as a soldier, he was repeatedly described in terms of his sexual behavior while serving overseas.

The overall pattern of hostility toward the Negro and the Jew suggests that when each minority is presented in different contexts and in different interethnic situations, different amounts of hostility are mobilized. In terms of these differential quantities, the Negro received *proportionately* more hostility than the Jew as the sphere of interethnic relations became more private, more intimate, less secular and less commercial. The measures of restrictive demands indicate that Negroes as compared to Jews fared least poorly in employment and worst in housing.

STEREOTYPING THE MINORITY

A discussion of patterns of intolerance cannot disregard the reasons which the individual himself brings forward to justify his animosity. Among social scientists there is now general agreement that verbal expressions of hostility need not directly reveal their real causes. But many efforts to combat intolerance have been blind to this fact and have concentrated on disseminating correct information and on disproving the accusations of the intolerant. One of the basic hypotheses of this study is that intolerance is a function of deprivation and anxiety, while the intolerant person's accusations are ways to justify his aggressions. Nevertheless, a dynamic interpretation of the processes at work in the biased person should not lead one to neglect those reasons by which he justifies his aggressive tendencies.

Nor will it do to dismiss the intolerant person's stereotyped opinions in an off-hand fashion with such statements as: If there were no Jews they would persecute all those who have red hair. Such an approach overlooks the fact that even some psychotic persons can still exercise a modicum of reality testing. In order to justify his persecution of the red heads, the biased person must avail himself of rationalizations quite different from those employed to rationalize anti-Semitism; and they must be of such a nature as to permit a minimum of reality testing. These rationalizations, moreover, will condition the ways in which hostile feelings against the particular minority can be discharged. Similarly, the accusations which the intolerant person directs against Jews or Negroes must contain traces of testable observations; and these, too, will affect the manner and conditions under which hostility manifests itself.¹

¹ German history provides a tragic example. Jewish extermination was decided upon at a relatively late moment in the annals of National Socialism, as documented by the proceedings of the Nuremberg trials. So long as the accusation that Jews possessed wealth and power could be justified by a minimum of fact (i.e., as long as some relatively wealthy and influential Jews remained within Germany), discrimination by expropriation and defamatory laws satisfied most anti-Semites in their need for the discharge of hostile feelings. When such accusations could no longer be backed up even by shreds of evidence, the accusations became more and more extravagant. While propaganda had previously emphasized the Jewish control of business and finance within Germany, the emphasis then shifted to the thesis of a secret world conspiracy, an accusation no longer testable by the average German.

Freud has convincingly demonstrated that any delusional belief must rest upon some psychological reality (and it may be added here that this reality may be objectively insignificant when compared with the delusional bias). Some very hostile persons need intolerance as outlets for hostility which, if not somehow discharged, would destroy the integration of their personalities. If they are approached with requests to submit these beliefs to reality testing, their dim feeling that such testing would deprive them of much needed outlets for hostility will lead them to greater anxiety and thus more intense hostility.

Moreover, the prejudiced person senses that the reasons by which he justifies his prejudices are not the source of his actions. Therefore, all attacks on his reasoning seem only to demonstrate a lack of appreciation and understanding of his real motives. This convinces him that those who question his prejudices do not really understand him at all and he does not feel compelled to accept their arguments.

All intolerant veterans in the sample avoided reality testing to some degree. They seemed not quite able to see Jews and Negroes as individuals in their own rights, and as unique persons. Each of them made some statements about minorities which showed that they ignored the individual's uniquely personal characteristics; in short, they used stereotypes. As was to be expected, those who were only moderately biased, i.e., men who applied stereotyped thinking to ethnic minorities without being outspoken in their demands for restrictions, retained more ability to test reality. They were able to evaluate correctly those individuals whom they met, but clung to stereotyped thinking about the rest of the discriminated group. One veteran, for example, who was asked about "goldbricking" in the army, said that Jews were the greatest "goldbrickers," but elaborated that there were "some fine Jewish boys" in his outfit, for whom this was by no means true. Another man said:

"If there was a Jewish officer in the outfit he'd have a Jewish fellow with him; if there was any easy work to be done, he'd get a Jewish fellow to do it. I don't know what there is in it, but they always think they're superior. There was one Jewish fellow in our outfit whom I liked especially. He wasn't like the ordinary run of Jews, that's why I remember him."

Thus attitudes were frequently found to indicate that while uncritically accepted and repeated opinions (nearly always unfavorable in character) were considered the rule, the individual's contrary experience was viewed as the exception. In this way it remained possible to retain the stereotyped attitudes which permitted discharge of hostility despite contrary actual experience.

Such limited amount of reality testing, however, did not seem to be available to strongly biased individuals. Their intolerance signified a much stronger underlying need for hostile discharge which had to be totally protected against possible disintegration through real experiences. In these cases the stereotype became their defense, and since the pretension of reality testing had to be maintained, the Jew was no longer tested against reality. On the contrary, instead of testing whether a Jew, or the majority of Jews, conformed to the stereotyped picture of the Jew which was used to justify anti-Semitism, the reverse procedure took place. Whoever fitted the stereotyped picture of the Jew was accepted as such and used to support the validity of the stereotype. On the other hand, whoever eluded the pattern was either not recognized as a Jew, or declared a rare exception. The classical expression of this attitude was voiced by the man who led the first modern party based almost exclusively on political anti-Semitism, the late nineteenth century Viennese lord mayor, Lueger. When questioned about his private and professional associations with individual Jews he declared: "I decide who is a Jew and who is not."

But even for the individual who must avoid any extent of reality testing, it is incompatible with his self-esteem to realize that he is waging a war of persecution against a comparatively helpless minority. Therefore, in order to fight it with justification and without damage to his self-esteem, he sometimes invents the existence of a powerful and threatening conspiracy aimed at his own well-being. This rationalization, in the case of anti-Semitism, takes the form of accusations, which in their mildest expression involve a widespread belief in Jewish "clannishness." This belief found its most exaggerated form in the Nazi's conviction that there existed an international conspiracy of Jewish plutocracy which was waging war against Germany.

However, the intolerant person cannot rely upon any obvious signs for demonstrating the existence of this powerful organization, since neither the Jews nor the Negroes have, for instance, any army to speak of—nor are they in positions of power among the great nations. Therefore, the existence of a secret organization has to be postulated, and this is exactly what many extremely intolerant persons do.²

² Here again the delusional mechanisms determining ethnic intolerance become obvious. In his claim that there exists a secret conspiracy, the thinking of the intolerant person may be compared with the rationalizations of the paranoid patient who uses the fact that nobody else recognizes the existence of his enemies to reinforce his belief in their cunning

The more violent the aggressions of the intolerant person are, the more he must justify them with a stereotyped belief in the danger of the minority's power. The greater he believes this power to be, the greater his anxiety becomes, which then spurs him to even more violent action. Thus he is caught in the vicious circle of his delusional system, which may be one of the reasons why, once interethnic aggression becomes rampant, it proceeds with self-perpetuating vigor. The violence of the persecution demands new and stronger justification. It also creates guilt feelings, which add to the anxiety already created by the stereotyped belief in the power of the outgroup.

The testimony of two men may exemplify the differences in degrees of reality testing which were found among them. One biased man who retained his ability to test reality to some degree said about the Jews in the army:

"They shirk their duty, they're not combat men. Some will fight, I'll give them that credit, but most of them are out for themselves. If he has a chance to save himself, he'll save himself. A Jew will never give you nothing for nothing either. (But) I've found a couple of good Jews, like in any nationality, but only a few."

On the other hand, confronted with the fact that in his own experience Jews behaved like other soldiers—namely that some tried to avoid the danger of combat, while others were courageous, another strongly biased man was still able to protect his stereotype from being dented. The average Jewish soldier, he implied, was incompetent, and the others, bloodthirsty. Thus he was able to negate the courageous Jew's behavior by means of another unfavorable stereotype.

Because the intolerant person's rationalizations are closely, though not obviously, connected with the reasons for his intolerance, he must find means to protect them. On the other hand, they also reveal the nature of his underlying anxieties. According to Freud, "The delusion is found like a patch on that spot where originally there was a tear in the relation between the ego and its outer reality."³ A study of stereotyped opinions about ethnic minorities may be likened to a removal of this "patch" in order to find the "tear."

Among the veterans studied, as everywhere, stereotypes and stereo-

³ Quoted from Simmel, E.: "Anti-Semitism and Mass Psychopathology" *Anti-Semitism*, E. Simmel, ed., New York, 1946, p. 53. Besides the papers in this book, another psychoanalytically oriented discussion of anti-Semitism may be found in Fenichel, O.: "Psychoanalysis of Anti-Semitism," *Am. Imago*, 1: 2, March, 1940.

typed thinking revealed the individual's view of minority groups and indicated the blocks to the individual's ability to test reality. No statistically significant relationship emerged between the pattern of particular stereotypes which the individual held to be true of a minority group, and the degree of his hostility against that minority, as indicated by his demands for restrictions. But it was found that the more outspoken and intense the individual was in his feelings against Jews (or Negroes) the larger was the total number of stereotypes he employed (see Table 1 (III) below).⁴

TABLE 1 (III)
DISTRIBUTION OF STEREOTYPES

| Number of Stereotypes Used | Anti-Semites Classified as "Stereotyped" | | Outspoken and Intense Anti-Semites | |
|----------------------------------|--|------------|--|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| 0-3 | 14 | 33 | 11 | 23 |
| 4-6 | 18 | 43 | 11 | 23 |
| 7-9 | 9 | 22 | 18 | 39 |
| 10 or more | 1 | 2 | 7 | 15 |
| Total | 42 | | 47 | |

A comparison of the patterns of stereotypes used to characterize the Negro and the Jew revealed several important differences in the structure of group hostilities. The various stereotypes employed by the sample to characterize ethnic minorities are summarized in Tables 2(III) and 3(III) below.

An examination of the five most frequent Negro and five most frequent Jewish stereotypes reveals strikingly different results, with each set presenting a more or less integrated pattern. For the *Jew*, the five most frequent stereotypes were:

THEY ARE CLANNISH; THEY HELP ONE ANOTHER

"The Jewish are cliquish. I heard that they have a lodge that will appropriate money for one of its members to start a business and then he repays it. If we're

⁴ The analysis of stereotypes was based on a content analysis which combed the entire interview record for the presence of stereotyped assertions. Several questions, including some dealing with army life, were designed to reveal stereotyped thinking.

TABLE 2(III)

STEREOTYPES CHARACTERIZING JEWS

| | No. of Veterans Mentioning Stereotypes |
|--|--|
| General | |
| They have the money | 26 |
| They control everything, (or have an urge to control everything); they are running the country | 24 |
| The Jew in business and industry | |
| They use underhanded or sharp business methods | 24 |
| They control most business | 18 |
| They are mostly in business for themselves | 15 |
| They monopolize industry; own most of the factories | 13 |
| They have the best jobs; they always get to the top | 11 |
| They control particular businesses | 9 |
| The personal characteristics of the Jew | |
| They are clannish; they help one another | 37 |
| They don't work; they don't do manual labor | 19 |
| They are overbearing; they are forward | 17 |
| They are dirty, sloppy, filthy | 17 |
| They are interested only in money | 11 |
| They are smart, especially in business | 9 |
| They are energetic | 8 |
| They are loud, noisy, and cause commotions | 7 |

all created equal, it looks like the Jewish are in the driver's seat. . . ." (Veteran twenty-seven years old; one year high school.)

THEY HAVE THE MONEY

"They're pretty shrewd operators, I guess. Maybe I'm prejudiced against them. The one that screwed me up was a guy from California who said he had more reason than anybody to go back because he had a business to take care of. No family or anything else. He was a smart fellow, had a college education. He had a lot of money and would loan it to the guys and charge them interest. Any other guy would just hand it out and if he forgot to pay it back, O.K., you never asked him for it. Money is their God. This one got more passes than anyone else. Of course he was in the orderly room so he just wrote one for himself whenever he wanted one. He had a brand new Buick up at camp and drove it all around. He managed to get out before it was over. He went to the hospital every day; said it was his nerves. Probably was worrying about his business." (Veteran thirty-two years old; four years high school.)

THEY CONTROL EVERYTHING

"Everybody blames the Jews. In a way that's right because they have everything. They control everything. They're in all the right places—in the offices, in politics. They're the ones running things. They always manage to get in at the top of everything. Like the Jews in the army. There were just three Jewish boys in our company, anyway. Then at the point of embarkation, just when we were ready to pull out, what did they do but yank them two off the ship. So those two Jews got left behind—no reasons given, they weren't sick or anything. That's the way it is with them all the time.

TABLE 3 (III)

STEREOTYPES CHARACTERIZING NEGROES

| | No. of Veterans Mentioning Stereotypes |
|---|--|
| General | |
| They are taking over; they are forcing out the whites | 25 |
| They have low standards; they are a lower class | 18 |
| The personal characteristics of the Negro | |
| They are sloppy, dirty, filthy | 53 |
| They depreciate property | 33 |
| They are lazy; they are slackers in work | 22 |
| They have low character; they are immoral and dishonest | 18 |
| They are ignorant; have low intelligence | 18 |
| They are troublesome; the cause of disturbances | 14 |
| They smell bad; they have a body odor | 11 |
| They carry diseases | 10 |
| They spend their money on a good front; they don't save | 8 |

"They control all the liquor—that's one I know about. Just take a look around at the liquor stores, see one on this corner run by a Dago and he ain't got nothing, neither has the Irish or whatever else he may be—but look at the one that's got plenty and you'll see it's a Jewish place. They control it all. If your name is Goldberg, you get all you want—otherwise you don't get nothing. . . . 95 per cent of the liquor companies they still keep the same names, but the Jews got them now. It's the same in all business; but the liquor business is the one I know about." (Veteran thirty-three years old; less than eight years of school.)

"It seems like Jews are in back of every big outfit." (Veteran thirty-eight years old; four years high school.)

"They have power all over the world—in all the industries. Everything is Jewish. Marshall Field and all the big stores in Chicago are Jewish." (Veteran twenty-seven years old; two years high school.)

THEY USE UNDERHANDED BUSINESS METHODS

"I have a lot of trouble with the Jews, too. They're hard to deal with. They're too tight. Every time you go up to deliver something to them you have to have a fight with them first before you can collect your money." (Veteran thirty years old; two years high school.)

THEY DON'T WORK; THEY DON'T DO MANUAL LABOR

"Well, most of the Jewish people have all the factories so the white people are working for them. You don't see Jews working." (Veteran twenty-six years old; two years high school.)

For the *Negro*, the five most frequent stereotypes were:

THEY ARE SLOPPY, DIRTY, FILTHY

"He's lazy and he smells. Don't do any good for him to take a bath, he's born with it. . . . I just couldn't stand being near a nigger and I don't see how anybody could. They're colored, we're white. We just shouldn't marry them, we have no business doing it. They have a country, let them go back to Africa." (Veteran twenty-six years old; two years high school.)

"They should be taught where their place is, taught to be clean. Then you could stomach them more easily." (Veteran twenty-two years old; four years high school.)

THEY DEPRECIATE PROPERTY

"Why is it when a bunch of niggers moves into a building, it gets all broken down so fast? I just got no use for them. You can always tell one by his smell." (Veteran twenty-nine years old; two years high school.)

THEY ARE TAKING OVER; THEY ARE FORCING OUT THE WHITES

"I just don't like niggers, they're getting too big, will be wanting to take over. All these groups getting them to think they're so big—pretty soon, if they don't watch out, there's going to be a race riot. Why they push you off the street, now. Everywhere you go there's a bunch of niggers. You go downtown to a big department store and they're all over. Of course they got to buy things too, but it's sure getting bad. All these politicians are trying to get the nigger vote by putting them in white neighborhoods. Let them live together . . . they say. But there'll be a race riot if they keep up that stuff. Guess that's about all there is to do—get a riot going, start killing them—that's all. Then when 400 or 500 of them get killed, they'll find out that they got to stay in their place." (Veteran thirty-three years old; less than eight years education.)

THEY ARE LAZY; THEY ARE SLACKERS IN WORK

"There are Negroes working for my company but you always have to keep chasing them to keep them working." (Veteran twenty-five years old; four years high school.)

THEY ARE IMMORAL

"Well Negroes are an awful dirty class of people. There's more trouble with Negroes than with anyone else. They're always getting in hold-ups." (Veteran twenty-six years old; three years high school.)

"The trouble with them is they have no morals. If they're with whites, we can't trust the morals of the whites either, and we don't want a generation of mulattoes." (Veteran twenty-seven years old; two years high school.)

The composite pattern of stereotypes for the Jew did not stress personally "obnoxious" characteristics. Jews were not predominantly characterized as forward, pushy and overbearing, or loud and noisy by the members of this predominantly lower and lower middle class sample. In the main they were represented in terms of a powerful, well-organized group which by inference, threatened the subject. The most frequently mentioned stereotype was that Jews were clannish, and that they helped one another. In itself such a stereotype might be colorless, or it might indicate an underlying positive emotion. Contextual material almost invariably indicated that what the veteran was actually revealing was his social and personal isolation; he was decrying what he considered to be the unfair advantage in business and politics which accrued to the Jew who enjoyed greater social solidarity than himself. The following statement represents this attitude in its extreme form:

"Well it may not sound good, but I think Hitler had the right idea. Kill them all off. They make life miserable for everybody else. All they do is to look out for themselves." (Veteran twenty-two years old; one year college.)

The power of the Jews, it was felt, lay not in their strength; for that matter, neither physical nor intellectual ability was stressed. The Jews' power to control was felt to lie in their cooperation with one another (their clannishness) and in their possession of money. The wide range of stereotyping which surrounded the power and wealth of the Jew highlighted his ability to amass and keep wealth, largely through underhanded business methods and general cunning. Complementary to this was the observation of the stereotyped and aggressive veteran that Jews do not work, since they do not do manual labor.

On the other hand, the stereotypes of the Negro in this sample stressed the individual, personally "offensive" characteristics of the Negro. Just as the stereotypes of the group characteristics of the Jews implied a threat to the values and well-being of the intolerant white, so the stereotypes about the Negro were used to describe a conception of the Negro

as a threat to the white man's economic and social status, particularly because the Negro was "forcing out the whites"—for example:

"I say that the white race should get the jobs because I believe that they live at a higher standard than the colored and it would give the white race a more superior feeling over the colored than we've had in the last few years. I believe that the colored race is growing too strong. During the war they were kept in their place. Now they're learning white ways and stepping out of place. This was very evident in the service." (Veteran twenty-three years old; four years high school.)

While both stereotyped and outspoken anti-Semites used by and large the same kinds of stereotypes, there was, nevertheless, some marked difference in the frequency with which members of these two groups mentioned particular stereotypes. The greatest difference in the use of stereotyped thinking (between stereotyped anti-Semites and outspoken anti-Semites), occurred in connection with the charge that Jews exercise control. Twice as many outspoken anti-Semites made this statement as did stereotyped anti-Semites. Another stereotype made much more frequently by outspoken anti-Semites was that Jews are clannish and help one another. Stereotypes about Jews having all the money, using underhanded business methods and not doing manual labor were as frequently used by stereotyped anti-Semites as by outspoken ones. Thus stereotypes which may be related to superego tendencies were used twice as frequently by outspoken anti-Semites, while stereotypes related to id tendencies (shirking of hard labor, cheating, and hoarding money) were equally frequent among both groups.

These data may be compared with the frequency distribution of stereotypes applied to Negroes. The greatest difference in the use of stereotypes between stereotyped anti-Negro and outspokenly and intensely anti-Negro veterans was found as regarded the accusation that Negroes were sloppy, dirty and filthy. (Twenty-three per cent of the stereotyped anti-Negro men made such statements, while twice as many of the outspoken and twice as many of the intense anti-Negro men made such assertions.) Thus in the case of the Negro, stereotypes related to id tendencies were used much more frequently by men whose anti-Negro bias was more intense.

A comparison of the distribution of stereotypes applied to Jews and Negroes, as indicated by this enumeration, with those used by the National Socialists in Germany permits certain observations. In Germany the whole list of stereotypes were applied to the Jews, which in the United States were divided between Jews and Negroes. In German anti-

Semitic propaganda, Jewish dirtiness and lack of morality were greatly emphasized. Thus there is additional evidence that within Western European-American culture the selection and use of stereotypes seems to depend on the needs of the person applying them, although the patterns revealed by the veterans permitted some significant qualification.

In the United States, where two or more ethnic minorities are available, a tendency has emerged to separate the stereotypes into two sets and to assign each of them to one minority group. One of these two sets indicates feelings of anxiety over the first minority's power of control (Jews exercising control, having power). The other set of stereotypes indicates anxieties aroused by the second minority's assumed ability to permit itself the enjoyment of primitive, socially unacceptable forms of indulgence or gratification (the Negroes'—and one might add the Mexicans'—dirtiness and immorality). Moreover, it would seem that when the two minority groups differ in physical characteristics, such as skin color, the minority showing greater physical difference is used for projecting anxieties associated with dirt and sex desires.⁵ The minority whose physical characteristics are more similar to those of the majority becomes a symbol for anxieties concerning overpowering control.

According to psychoanalytical interpretation, ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable inner strivings onto a minority group. Projection is a mechanism by means of which one tries to solve a conflict within oneself by ascribing to another person emotions, motives, and behavior which actually belong to oneself. For instance, if we hate another person without justification, that creates a conflict within us if our conscience does not approve of the emotion of hatred. Instead of solving this conflict by overcoming our hatred, we may try to get rid of it through projection. We project our hatred into the other person so that it appears to us not as if we hate him, but that he hates us. Thus in a devious way we not only try to get rid of an emotion which is not acceptable to our conscience (superego), we are also now justified in hating the other person if we so desire, because we think he is hating us.

Any survey of those characteristics to which the members of the ingroup object in members of the outgroups is frequently a list of all those characteristics which they fear in themselves.⁶ The outgroup provides

⁵ It may be mentioned that stereotypes frequently used by the veterans in speaking about Mexicans followed closely the pattern of Negro stereotypes.

⁶ "For example, in the German concentration camp situation, both Jewish prisoners and Gestapo guards acted as if psychological mechanisms comparable to paranoid delusions were at work in them. Both believed that the members of the other group were sadistic, dirty, unintelligent, of an inferior race, and that they indulged in sexual perversions. Both groups accused each other of being interested only in material goods

subjects onto which they can project the rejected part of those tendencies which created an inner conflict. Thus they try to free themselves of the conflict and to reestablish their personality integration which has been endangered by demands of which their superego, for example, did not approve. That this is so can be seen from the fact that the outgroup is always accused of satisfying needs which are common to all men. No child wants to be and remain clean; everybody would like to live at a leisurely pace, to have money, and to enjoy sexual gratification. But often our conscience does not permit us to give in to these instinctual demands and fights against them.

Personal integration can be threatened by two opposing psychological entities: superego and id. Superego, by definition, controls human behavior in line with social standards. The economic system, particularly the necessity to work, and to work hard, seem suitable to represent superego demands, many of which the individual feels unable to meet. The indulgence in primitive desires represents id gratifications, the desire for which is felt by many individuals as a threat to their integration.

In the metropolitan area studied, there seemed to be a tendency, among the intolerant, to select the Jew for projecting onto him those tendencies rejected by the superego (for instance, the individual's desire to take advantage of others), while id desires were projected onto the Negro, whose supposed greater irrationality seemed to make him a suitable representative of the pressures originating in the irrational id. However, a projection may easily show features of both opposing forces since in all conflicts they are intertwined. Still, in each case one of the two opposing tendencies will dominate.

It frequently happens that the impact of the environment on the individual may force him to change the objects onto whom he projects unapproved inner tendencies. Thus the question arose of the possible effects of army experiences with Jews and Negroes upon patterns of projection, as revealed in stereotyped thinking. In the absence of pre-war interviews, only limited inferences could be drawn.

Men brought into the army the forms of stereotyped thinking which they made use of in civilian life. In the army, enough of the practices and forms of civilian life were continued to permit ready application of

and of having no respect for ideals, or for moral and intellectual values. In the case of each group there may have been individual justification for some of these beliefs. Nevertheless this strange similarity indicates that the two groups were availing themselves of analogous mechanisms of defense." Bettelheim, B.: "Dynamism of Anti-Semitism in Gentile and Jew," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42: 2, April 1947.

existing stereotypes. Moreover, at the time of the interview the men were back in civilian life, trying to regain their places. This would have tended to revive attitudes previously formed in civilian life. In addition, the pressure of army life was likely to increase many individuals' need for protecting their personal integration by the use of defensive mechanisms, including projections.

Nevertheless, the army experience threw many men into new and varied contacts with Jews and, to a lesser extent, with Negroes. Such experiences could have been viewed as new opportunities to realistically test their conceptions of minority groups. In particular, the fact that men were asked to join with these minorities in a common task might have led them to re-examine their attitudes. Thus whether associations with Jews in the army influenced the patterns of projection is an important issue for the understanding of intolerance.

TABLE 4(III)
CHARACTERIZATION OF SOLDIERS

| | Jews | | Negroes | |
|---|------|------------|---------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| They were not used in combat (had rear-echelon jobs) | 30 | 20 | 19 | 13 |
| They were poor combat soldiers | 25 | 17 | 65 | 43 |
| They fought like others | 87 | 58 | 39 | 26 |
| Don't know and other | 8 | 5 | 27 | 18 |
| Total | 150 | | 150 | |

Analysis showed that the stereotyping of Jews in the army was in good measure an extension of the conceptions of civilian life onto army experiences. Table 4(III) above presents the veterans' responses to the question: "Did the Jews make good soldiers?" From this table it can be seen that the number of veterans who were free of negative stereotypes in their characterization of Jews as soldiers equaled the number of men tolerant toward the Jew as measured by the overall index of intolerance (approximately 60 per cent in both cases).⁷

Closer examination of the interview records of intolerant men reveals

⁷ Since this question was included in the construction of the overall index of anti-Semitic attitudes, some association was to be expected. However, the percentage was almost the same for this question as for the overall index, composed of eleven groups of questions, each consisting of several items.

how civilian patterns of stereotypes were uncritically applied to the army setting and that the experience of living together did not markedly influence these patterns.

The civilian characterization of the Jew as a powerful figure, with business ability and cunning, was merely enlarged to signify a series of traits which enabled the Jew to succeed regardless of the context in which he found himself. To intolerant men, being a Jew meant possessing this basic ability. This emerged clearly in many of the statements about the Jew in the army. For example:

"There were only a few Jews in our outfit. One of them was a master sergeant. They did get up faster in rank and promotion, but we couldn't do anything about that. They would do favors for the officers and get promoted." (Veteran twenty-two years old; two years high school.)

Even if personal attachment and respect bound a man to a particular Jew, the stereotype of his greater ability "to get things" remained.

"Oh, there was one Jew, Lt. ——— . . . almost forgot about him. He lived right over here a few blocks, too. He took pictures of me and a buddy of mine the day before he was killed. He knew somebody on the *Sun* and was always sending in pictures of the guys. He was really white. At first I didn't like him and he knew it and picked on me at first too. But then I changed my mind. He took care of his platoon all right. To show you how much they liked him, they all got together at Christmas time and bought him one of those fancy lined sleeping bags—which is something, cause otherwise none of the G.I.'s did nothing like that for the officers. He took good care of his men. He saw to it that they had things they needed. They had cigarettes all the time when there weren't many around. *That's the Jew in him—he was good at getting things like that.* He'd do anything for his men and they'd do anything for him." (Veteran thirty-three years old; less than eight years of education.)

Again, in the army as in civilian life, the Jew's power position was ascribed to his special characteristics—in particular, money and education.

The equation of the Jew as civilian to the Jew as soldier was summarized by one thirty year old corporal: "The Jews don't work or fight."

In the case of the veterans' views of the Negro soldier, the stereotypes seemed also to follow the previously mentioned pattern of stressing the Negroes' personally obnoxious traits. The fact that Negroes were in fact used chiefly as rear-echelon and service troops, tended to reenforce the existing stereotypes about the Negro's being lazy and inefficient.

"I have yet to see a good Negro soldier. Well, for instance, when we were aboard ship we had three white companies and one Negro company; and every time we had a drill, it would take three minutes for the white companies to be

at their stations, and fifteen minutes later the Negro company was not at their stations."

The actual position of the Negro in the army appears to account in part for the 13 per cent of the sample who responded that the Negroes were not used in combat (Table 4(III)). More important was the fact that the characterization of the Negro in the army was colored by the sexual mores which developed between white women and the Negro troops in the European theater of operations. To complete the foregoing analysis of attitudes Table 5(III) summarizes the men's responses to the question, "How did the fellows in your outfit get along with the Jews (with the Negroes)?"

TABLE 5(III)
"HOW DID THE FELLOWS IN YOUR OUTFIT GET ALONG
WITH THE JEWS (WITH THE NEGROES)?"

| | Jews | | Negroes | |
|---------------------|------|------------|---------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Had little contact | 6 | 4 | 59 | 39 |
| Did not get along | 26 | 18 | 45 | 30* |
| Got along all right | 96 | 64 | 35 | 23 |
| Got along very well | 11 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| No answer | 11 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Total | 150 | | 150 | |

* Includes responses: "Got along as long as they stayed in their place."

For negative answers, the reason most often volunteered in the case of the Jews was their clannishness. For Negroes, however, allegations of friction hinged around the topic of Negro-white sexual relations. Those who expressed attitudes on this subject were uniform in their condemnation, not of the white women, but of the Negro soldiers.

"There was lots of trouble, lots of fighting and shooting. The main trouble was about girls—they was taking out the white girls all the time, in Italy and in France. They told the white girls they were American Indians. They don't know any better. The girls thought they were pretty good, I guess, because the niggers would buy them a lot of things. They were so anxious to get girls that they would spend a lot on them. And they were there close to all the supplies so that they would steal stuff to the girls. . . .

"Sometimes, maybe one company would come into a small town where a big colored unit had been stationed for a long time, and we'd just stay to

ourselves and not go into the town at all. It would just start a lot of children. Like one time a guy was talking to a girl and a colored soldier came walking down the street, she said so long to the white guy, I have a date with him, and went walking off with the nigger. But what could you do about it? So we just stayed away from them. Course there were plenty of fights, a hell of a lot of shooting." (Veteran thirty-three years old; less than eight years of education.)

"Negroes were scared of their own shadow in combat. The Negroes went out with white girls in England; in fact you'd see 'em kissing white girls. Boy, those fool girls thought they were American Indians, but as soon as more white troops landed we took care of that. I remember one incident. A white guy was dancing with an English girl and a Negro came in and the girl left the white guy for the Negro. They'd do it over there. Well, the white guy got mad and came up asking what the big idea was, that that man was a Negro. The Negro was mad too, and told him that when he got home, he'd be going out with the guy's own sister. . . ." (Veteran twenty-five years old; two years high school.)

These data and many similar statements support the hypothesis that the individual's stereotypes are not only vitally needed defense mechanisms, but are persistent, even under the impact of such immediate and realistic experiences as service with Jews and Negroes under conditions of war. But were there more basic life experiences which forced the individual toward a new and different integration of hostile and anxious impulses? This raised the question of which types of life experiences are likely to modify an individual's intolerance? If we were to find significant differences between the life experiences of tolerant and intolerant men, we might assume that some of these experiences favored ethnic tolerance. The task of the investigator thus became one of isolating those life experiences which were associated with intolerance.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL STATUS

In view of the widespread notion that intolerance can be explained by social and economic factors, a first task was to determine whether the men's social and economic history could account, either in whole or in part, for their ethnic intolerance. The most basic analysis of social factors concerned itself with whether or not significant differences in intolerance could be associated with different social and economic attributes. Those characteristics singled out for preliminary study were: age, education, religion, political affiliation, income, and social status.

The data as set forth below suggest that—subject to certain limitations—these factors cannot of themselves account for differences in the degree or nature of intolerance. With some few exceptions, other studies offer little assistance on this point. One of them, a carefully controlled survey poll on anti-Semitism which was conducted by Angus Campbell on a nationwide sample of 316 cases, tended toward the same conclusion.¹ It was found, for example, that when attitudes toward Jews were classified according to the various social and economic characteristics of those interviewed (age, sex, religion, education, and income), the relationships were for the most part slight, and in some cases negligible. While that study was based on a cross section of the nation's population, the present investigation had selected a relatively homogeneous group of veterans. This made possible a sharper testing of the findings mentioned above because it permitted certain important factors to be considered constant for the group.

AGE. To investigate a possible correlation between the subject's age and the degree of his anti-Semitism seemed pertinent, since ethnic intolerance is apparently absent in early childhood. Moreover, although elderly people are often intolerant, they rarely join violent mobs, perhaps because they are less volatile, or just less physically fit.

Recent German history has shown that the age groups between 16

¹ Newcomb, T., and Hartley, E.: *Readings in Social Psychology*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1947, pp. 518-27.

and 40 were those most ready to take part in violent anti-Semitic action. The *Fortune* opinion poll (February, 1946) indicated that both men and women in the age group of 35 to 49 tend to be slightly more anti-Semitic than those between 21 and 34. However, the Campbell study referred to above concluded that there was no consistent relationship between anti-Semitism and age.

Although the basis for selection in our sample limited the age-range it was still possible to divide the veterans into groups of younger and older men, and also into groups of three-year age intervals. When comparing the degree of anti-Semitic attitudes in the various age groups, no statistically significant difference appeared, although the older veterans tended to be slightly more anti-Semitic² (see Table 1(IV) below).

This table permits another observation: From the sample it appears that those born between 1910 and 1926 showed no significant difference with regard to anti-Semitism. Men born after 1918 went through their formative adolescent years in the 1930's when National Socialism and its program of anti-Semitic persecutions were widely discussed. Nevertheless, their attitudes toward the Jewish problem did not differ significantly from those of veterans who were born before 1920 and had therefore reached maturity before Hitler and his anti-Semitic policies made headlines. The implication seems to be that world events which have no direct impact on the individual do not significantly influence the development of his anti-Semitic attitudes.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL. Whether a higher degree of general knowledge is positively correlated with tolerance is a question of great import. If it were so, then an educational program, such as the dissemination of correct information, would seem an adequate means of promoting tolerance. To date, opinion polls have not settled this problem, although it was found that for the nation as a whole, anti-Semitism seemed to be slightly related to educational level; those most educated were least anti-Semitic. A good case could be made for denying the existence of such a difference beyond mere verbalization, since those with more education may be expected to qualify their statements more carefully, while their underlying attitudes and behavior may be the same as that of persons who express themselves more bluntly and thus appear less tolerant. This may explain why veterans with at least some college education appeared slightly more tolerant, but not markedly or significantly so on the continuum (see Table 1(IV)).

² The Chi-square test was employed to determine the significance of various attributes. Throughout the text, where a *significant* difference is reported it is at least at the .01 confidence limit unless otherwise specifically mentioned.

TABLE 1(IV)

SOCIAL CORRELATES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

| Age | Under 28 | 29-36 | No. |
|---------------------|------------|------------|-----|
| | Years | Years | |
| | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 44 | 34 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 27 | 30 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 29 | 36 | 47 |
| Number | 94 | 56 | 150 |

| Education | Did Not Complete High School | Completed High School | Some College or More | No. |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| | Percentage | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 35 | 39 | 51 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 31 | 28 | 23 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 34 | 33 | 26 | 47 |
| Number | 65 | 46 | 39 | 150 |

| Religion ^a | Catholic | Protestant | No Present Religious Denomination | No. |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|---|-----|
| | Percentage | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 40 | 48 | 33 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 28 | 25 | 33 | 41 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 32 | 27 | 33 | 46 |
| Number | 103 | 33 | 12 | 148 |

^a Two cases of Greek Orthodox not included.

RELIGION. Religious denomination showed no significant relation to degree of anti-Semitism (Table 1(IV)). Nor did any significant association between religious extraction—if this term may be used—and degree of anti-Semitism emerge when the religious denomination of the veterans' parents were also examined (see Appendix, Table 4(A)). Finally, it was

noted that veterans in whose homes two religious denominations contended for dominance showed no higher degree of anti-Semitism.

The relatively high percentage of Catholics among the group studied was a function of the sampling procedure which emphasized lower income groups. In the city studied, these groups are predominantly Catholics. (Negroes were not interviewed, and thus could not increase the percentage of Protestants in the sample, although they are overwhelmingly a Protestant group in Chicago.)

Since professed religious denomination is probably not a valid basis for analyzing the association of religious conviction with interethnic attitudes, a number of projective questions were employed, most of which dealt with soldiers' religious behavior in the army.

Among other questions dealing with army experiences, the men were asked: "How did the fellows feel about religion?" This opened a discussion of religion during which additional questions probed religious practices, such as church attendance in the army and in civilian life.

TABLE 2(IV)

"HOW DID THE FELLOWS FEEL ABOUT RELIGION?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|---|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Religion was important in army | 26 | 43 | 15 | 36 | 11 | 23 | 52 | 35 |
| Most soldiers followed their own habits | 22 | 36 | 19 | 45 | 28 | 60 | 69 | 46 |
| Most soldiers didn't go to church | 7 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 7 | 15 | 19 | 13 |
| Don't know and Other | 6 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 6 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

Veterans who answered the central question by stressing the acceptance and importance of religion in the army were *significantly* more tolerant than the rest of the sample (see Table 2(IV) above). It was assumed that the subjects were obviously projecting their own feelings about the importance of religion in the army and not basing their answers on carefully

observed behavior in others. Those who replied that "no one in the army was really religious" were equally distributed as to anti-Semitism. Intolerance, however, was concentrated in the group whose answers indicated their indifference to religion by statements to the effect that "most soldiers followed their own habits" or "everybody has his own opinions."

Thus it appears that men whose religious attitudes were characterized by vague and ambiguous statements about nonspecific "little differences" and "everybody having his own opinions" were those who were most intolerant.

That this correlation between stable religious beliefs, either positive or negative, and tolerance was of long standing appears to be a plausible hypothesis. Responses to the question, "Do you think your attitude toward religion was changed in any way by army life," appear to support this contention (see Appendix, Table 5(A)). Intolerant veterans claimed to have been strengthened in their religious conviction by the army experience *significantly* more often than the tolerant men.

The conclusion seems to be that while permanent religious attitudes correlated positively with tolerance, vacillation on this score was accompanied by a higher degree of anti-Semitism.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION. Just as religion (or religious conviction) in itself bore no relation to tolerance, but only the stability of such convictions, so political affiliation in itself seemed without bearing on the question. The lack of differences between the party affiliations of tolerant veterans and outspokenly anti-Semitic veterans confirms the often reported observation that political affiliation for the rank and file, in the United States, does not depend on party program. Only 50 per cent of the men had clear enough political convictions to call themselves either Democrats or Republicans. Of the tolerant veterans roughly 30 per cent were Republicans, while the percentage of outspoken anti-Semites among the Republicans was almost the same (26 per cent). Comparable percentages of tolerant veterans (69 per cent) and intolerant veterans (74 per cent) claimed to be Democrats.

FAMILY COMPOSITION. In addition to religious and political attitudes those of intolerance are also moulded under family influence. Therefore, an effort was made to determine whether family composition (as distinguished from family attitudes) was associated with intolerance. Gross comparisons of family composition failed to produce any correlates with anti-Semitism. The percentage of divorce among the men's families (about 10 per cent) indicated that the group as a whole was one in which

family disorganization was not high. There were too few cases of divorce among the veterans themselves to determine whether this factor exercised any influence on tolerance.

Intolerant men were just as likely to be single as married. The size of the veteran's own family, as well as that of his parents, was unrelated to anti-Semitism. Moreover, the fact that he came from a large family, with three or more children, exercised no influence on his degree of intolerance toward the Jew; neither did it make any difference whether he was the only child or had one sibling.

As another index of family integration, the relative permanence of residence was considered since frequent moving interferes with the stability of interpersonal relationships. However, when the length of family residence in the current dwelling unit was related to the degree of intolerance, no significant difference was noted. The spread among the sample in this respect ranged from 43 per cent, who had been dwelling in their homes for less than one year, to 32 per cent, who had lived in theirs for longer than ten years.

The question of family disruption was also studied as a possible factor in the development of intolerance. Nor did the absence of any relationship between gross indices of family organization and anti-Semitism settle the issue. It merely meant that the answer was not to be found in the formal state of the family, and that further investigation of the impact of the family on the individual was indicated (see Chapter VII).

NATIVITY OF PARENTS. In past years, it has been a popular belief that anti-Semitism, as well as many other interethnic hostilities, found its roots in the struggles of European life, and that it was transplanted to the United States by relatively uneducated immigrants. This was one of the many ways in which man safeguarded his own self esteem by blaming undesirable attitudes on an outgroup. If this assumption had been true, the "Americanization" of immigrant groups would have been the most effective method for improving interethnic relations.

Since it is true that anti-Semitism took a much more violent form in some European countries than it ever did in the United States, it seemed relevant to learn how the sons of native-born parents differed in questions of tolerance from the sons of foreign-born parents. It was found that the degree of ethnic intolerance proved unrelated to the nativity of the veterans' parents; in the metropolis studied, the sons of immigrants were no more intolerant than those of native-born parents (see Appendix Table 6(A)).

However, it was observed that whereas it made little difference whether both parents were foreign- or native-born, an increase in the degree of anti-Semitism was observed in cases where only one parent was foreign-born, although the difference was not great enough to be statistically significant. Only a tentative explanation of this phenomenon may be suggested, namely that a union of native-born and foreign-born parents may have made for less family cohesion, which may in turn have increased the son's insecurity and led him to seek aggressive outlets for his frustrations and/or to adopt more outspoken attitudes.

Similarly, those subjects who had one native- and one foreign-born parent tended to be somewhat more intolerant toward the Negroes. Thus the tendency toward greater intolerance among children with one foreign-born parent could not be ascribed to patterns formed in Europe (where anti-Semitism was rampant), since these parents came from Central and Eastern Europe, where discrimination against Negroes was virtually unknown. (See Appendix Table 13(A).)

READING AND LISTENING HABITS. Attitudes expressing themselves in social interaction are no longer shaped by the family and the church alone. While the family still moulds the basic personality, and while, consciously or unconsciously, most fundamental values are derived from the religious and moral teachings of childhood, how the personality expresses itself in action and how moral convictions are implemented in everyday living is now strongly influenced by propaganda. Although the bulk of empirical observations and the limited number of controlled experiments on this subject indicate that mass communications tend to be less important than basic personality and environmental factors in modifying attitudes, the German example certainly demonstrated that once slumbering hostility is aroused by environmental factors it can easily be directed against a specific goal. Though mass communication does not as yet seem to influence basic attitudes such as aggression, isolation, and feelings of competence or incompetence, it certainly influences the manner in which they are expressed, and channelizes their expression.

Undoubtedly, mass communications perform a significant role of buttressing and providing elaboration for existing attitudes. The impact of these defense processes is difficult to assess, but the individual's selectivity reveals itself in the way he chooses, from the variety of available communications, those whose symbols are most readily incorporated into his existing frame of reference. In this sense, therefore, the

reading and listening habits of the individual are significant social characteristics which help to maintain his current beliefs, and limit all attempts at modification which are contrary to their tendencies. In an analysis of intolerance, these social characteristics have special significance. First, various sources of mass communications present different amounts of material designed to maintain existing prejudices.³ Secondly, various media of mass communication give different "news slants" to the general social and political process. Therefore the veteran's reading and listening habits were investigated rather to determine how his selectivity reflected on his tolerance than to find whether ethnic attitudes reflect the impact of chosen types of communication.

Specifically, the men were asked which newspapers they read regularly, and which were their favorite radio programs and magazines. Statistically, the findings were negative. No significant relations between intolerance and the favoring of one newspaper, type of magazine, or radio program could be established. The replies indicated that almost as many men declared their favorite newspaper to be one of the two New Deal papers in town, the *Chicago Sun* and the *Chicago Times*, as preferred the opposing *Chicago Tribune* or the local Hearst paper. The rest, a small minority, preferred the middle-of-the-road *Daily News*. It may be added that the Hearst paper and the *Daily News* were the only papers preferred more by outspoken and intense anti-Semites than by tolerant men, while for both the *Chicago Tribune* and the New Deal papers the reverse was true. The numbers in each case were too small to permit conclusions, particularly since the difference was not statistically significant.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. To determine the relationship between the varying degrees of anti-Semitism and socioeconomic status, four different status criteria were employed: (1) amount of *income* of the subject at the time of the interview; (2) type of *job* held by the veteran, ranked according to the Alba Edwards socioeconomic classification;⁴ (3) type of *job* held by the subject's *father*; and (4) the indirect measure of the veteran's *rank* at the time of his *discharge* from the army. Anticipating the discussion of these criteria it may be said here that none of these factors seemed associated with intolerance among the members of the sample since none

³ Berelson, Bernard, and Salter, Patricia: "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer, 1946, present a statistical analysis of the frequency with which ethnic stereotypes are contained in magazine fiction.

⁴ Edwards, Alba: *A Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938, p. 2.

of them were significantly different for the tolerant, the stereotyped, or the outspoken anti-Semite. (Table 3(IV).)

TABLE 3(IV)
SOCIOECONOMIC CORRELATES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

| Current Salary | Up to \$2,500 | \$2,500 to \$3,000 | \$3,000 and Over | Not Applicable | No. |
|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|-----|
| | Percentage | Percentage | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 39 | 39 | 43 | 45 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 33 | 24 | 18 | 35 | 42 |
| Outspoken and Intense | 28 | 37 | 39 | 20 | 47 |
| Number | 59 | 43 | 28 | 20 | 150 |

| Socioeconomic Status | Unskilled and Semi-skilled | Top Four Groups ^a | No. |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----|
| | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 38 | 42 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 33 | 24 | 42 |
| Outspoken and Intense | 29 | 34 | 47 |
| Number | 80 | 70 | 150 |

| Rank in Army | Privates and Corporals | Sergeants | No. |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------|-----|
| | Percentage | Percentage | |
| Tolerant | 38 | 42 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 26 | 31 | 42 |
| Outspoken and Intense | 36 | 27 | 47 |
| Number | 80 | 70 | 150 |

^a Includes students on G. I. Bill of Rights and veterans engaged in on-the-job training.

Salary distribution among the veterans was skewed by the underrepresentation of high incomes which was due, of course, to age differentials and the absence of former officer personnel. For the same reason,

as far as type of job held was concerned, the professional and managerial groups were not proportionally represented. Nevertheless, a detailed breakdown by degree of anti-Semitism, amount of salary earned, and type of job held failed to reveal any group in which outspoken anti-Semitism was significantly concentrated. The lack of a relation between type of job held by the veteran and anti-Semitism was particularly noteworthy in the case of clerks and kindred worker categories where it was presumed that anti-Semitism might be concentrated. Some studies have stressed that anti-Semitism is prevalent among the lower middle classes, or the upper classes, while workers are supposedly less contaminated. This study seems to indicate that for this sample socioeconomic status as such is not correlated with intolerance. (See Appendix Tables No. 7(A) and 8(A) for more detailed breakdown of income, socioeconomic status, and intolerance.)

Because status causation of anti-Semitism has been so frequently accepted, and because the veterans' status in civilian life was still so new, another gauge of status was also investigated, namely, rank at discharge. In this case too, there was no difference to be found between the degree of intolerance among privates, and the lower versus the higher ranks of noncommissioned officers.

The conclusion as to socioeconomic status and its relation to anti-Semitism bears comparison with the situation in pre-Hitler Germany. Contrary to widely held notions, anti-Semitism there was by no means restricted to the petty bourgeoisie, but was widespread among sectors of all classes, including the working class.⁵

SOCIAL MOBILITY. The picture so far presented begins to change when the static concept of status is replaced by the dynamic concept of social mobility. Social scientists define social mobility as upward or downward change in the social position of an individual over a period of time, or as compared with the position of his family. If the effect of social mobility on anti-Semitism is studied, rapid change in status becomes more significant. Slow changes need not lead to aggressive behavior nor will a change of society as a whole produce such feelings. If societal change embraces all members of society, appropriate societal cushioning will usually protect the individual. In the case of individual changes in status, a slow

⁵ It should be pointed out again that this sample permits no generalizations about the top social strata. The *Fortune* survey of February, 1946, it is true, indicates increased anti-Semitism on the upper income level, but there are no statistical studies to support the point. However, some impressionistic observations support this contention, although anti-Semitism in the "upper classes" may be somewhat different in causation and content.

rate of change will allow him time for adjustment and also permit him to direct slowly accumulating frustrations into socially acceptable channels. Sudden frustrations promote the tendency to react to deterioration of status through discharge in hostility. This was exemplified in the rapid succession of inflation and deflation in pre-Hitler Germany and the attendant increase in anti-Semitism. Therefore, a study of the consequences of relatively sudden status change seemed indicated.

Social mobility was viewed as a shift in the veteran's socioeconomic or occupational position from that of his immediate prewar position to that of his position at the time of the interview.⁶ Most men felt they were entitled to return to a position which was better than, or at least equal to, the one they had left on enlistment. They felt that their service to the country, the hardships they had experienced, and especially the loss of opportunity for regular advancement more than justified such expectations. Therefore, a current status lower than the one enjoyed before enlistment was not only an injury to their self-esteem, as loss in status always is, but was also viewed as an unjustified mistreatment by society, particularly in view of promises which they considered to have been made to them.

It was possible to gather precise data on the social mobility of 130 veterans. Temporarily unemployed veterans were not rated because their unemployment was almost always transitional and sometimes deliberate. Nine of the men, who were studying under the G. I. Bill of Rights or obtaining benefits through the on-the-job training program, were rated as upwardly mobile because they were expected to improve their status through increased skills or learning. Table 4(IV) indicates that a third of those for whom data were available were in the upward mobility group, one-seventh in the downward, while the remainder, slightly more than half, registered no change of status.

Aggressive attitudes, both spontaneous and elicited, were found to be most highly concentrated in the downwardly mobile group, while the pattern was *significantly* reversed for those who had advanced in social status since the period of their previous civilian employment. Those who had experienced no change presented a picture somewhat in the middle; among them the number of tolerant persons was almost equal to that of the men who held stereotyped anti-Semitic beliefs.

⁶ The men were asked about their occupational status before the war and at the time of the interview. These two data were compared with the Alba Edwards classification, described above. A shift upwards of one or more grades on this scale was held to constitute upward social mobility; while a reverse shift was classified as downward social mobility.

TABLE 4(IV)

ANTI-SEMITISM AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

| | Downward Mobility | | No Mobility | | Upward Mobility | | Total | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Tolerant | 2 | 11 | 25 | 37 | 22 | 50 | 49 | 38 |
| Stereotyped | 3 | 17 | 26 | 38 | 8 | 18 | 37 | 28 |
| Outspoken and Intense | 13 | 72 | 17 | 25 | 14 | 32 | 44 | 34 |
| Total | 18 | | 68 | | 44 | | 130 | |

While the previously discussed social and economic characteristics, viewed, as it were, in a static context, proved relatively unrelated to anti-Semitism, they were *significantly* related to the expression of intolerance when viewed in the dynamic context of the individual's social mobility.⁷

The no-mobility group showed the highest concentration of stereotyped opinions—that is, they were “middle-of-the-roaders” in the intolerance continuum. (Over 70 per cent of the stereotyped anti-Semites were found in this middle category.) This datum tends to highlight the relation between mobility and intolerance.

It should be realized that the stereotyped and the outspoken anti-Semites held many attitudes in common about the Jew. The difference between the stereotyped and the outspoken anti-Semites appeared to be the greater tendency of the stereotyped anti-Semite to control his hostile feelings so that they expressed themselves only in unfavorable opinions rather than in demands for action. The demand for action, and action itself, threatened the *status quo* which this middle group seemed to wish to preserve. It can also be assumed that self-discipline with regard to social attitudes is a result of the willingness to accede to society's demands for conformity. It then seems understandable that the individual who reacts to downward social mobility as to the consequence of an act of injustice by society would experience a weakening of the desire or the ability to conform to society's demands. Such conformity, in a society

⁷ It might be argued that the relationship between anti-Semitism and mobility (as defined in this study) may have been the result of a third attribute: education. This however was not the case, for association of social mobility and tolerance remained present when educational level was held constant.

which deprives the individual, seems pointless to the person deprived.⁸ The stereotyped anti-Semite therefore becomes a potentially outspoken anti-Semite, given conditions which may weaken his self-discipline. One such condition is likely to be downward social mobility.

It may be assumed that the wish to "play safe," on the part of the non-mobile group, prevented it from taking those social and economic risks which, while offering the chance to rise in status, also entailed all the risk which changes imply, among them that of declining in status. It was particularly true for this group, to whom the G. I. Bill offered easily accessible chances to raise their educational (and, by implication, their social and economic) status. As noted above, the men who availed themselves of this opportunity were classified as upwardly mobile.

The same lack of desire to assume even temporary risks on the chance of bettering oneself also prevented these men from taking an extreme view of ethnic problems. Holding stereotyped opinions on the Jews was the accepted pattern for the group, while both great tolerance or violent anti-Semitism, they felt, might expose them to the criticism or the ridicule of their peers. Such tactics seemed risky and to be avoided.

The German example may again be mentioned in this connection. The socially and economically downward-moving lower middle class groups (frequently referred to as the "squeezed-out groups") were the followers of Hitler, while the "respectable," relatively secure, and static middle classes (those who had not yet experienced downward mobility) held apart from this extreme form of nationalism (and anti-Semitism). Before Hitler, they were the followers of the *Stahlhelm*, of the conservative parties who embraced "stereotyped" and social anti-Semitism without being outspokenly intolerant. All this changed with the advent of Hitler. Then anti-Semitism became not only respectable, but the social norm. Moreover, these middle classes which had formerly enjoyed relative security now themselves became part of the squeezed-out group, squeezed out first by the new ruling group of National Socialists and then by the war mobilization economy. At this point, most of them became intensely hostile to the Jews, both because they were again following the accepted and successful pattern and also because they needed more vio-

⁸ This is a process which can be observed in other situations in which the individual experiences frustrations. The typical nonconformist is the delinquent. With the exception of those cases in which delinquency is nothing but conformity to the mores of the delinquent's immediate environment, delinquency is almost always the consequence of the delinquent's conviction that he has not received his due, and has been cheated by those who to him represent society.

lent outlets for the hostility aroused by sudden and severe frustration.⁹

In view of the association between downward social mobility and intolerance, and upward social mobility and tolerance, the few cases (fourteen) who displayed both upward mobility and outspokenly intolerant attitudes warrant special attention. An analysis of the actual income gains associated with upward mobility reveals that these veterans who were both outspokenly anti-Semitic and upwardly mobile tended to be considerably more mobile than the others. Veterans with moderate increases in yearly income (up to \$1,000) were more frequently tolerant than intolerant. However, among those veterans whose salaries increased \$1,500 and more the number of outspoken anti-Semites equaled that of the tolerant veterans. This may tentatively be explained by the fact that sharp upward mobility is likely to be associated with marked aggressiveness in general. Sharp upward mobility implies changes in life patterns which produce great stress in the individuals involved. This was first observed by Durkheim in his study of suicides in Europe.¹⁰ The data at hand indicate that while slow upward mobility is closely associated with tolerance, rapid mobility either upward or downward, is positively related to interethnic hostility.

In conclusion, it may be said that these data support the theory that intolerance becomes a more serious problem to the degree that large groups become downwardly mobile at a rapid pace owing to changes in the structure of society. The data also seem to indicate that to understand intolerance it is less important to concentrate on the social and economic background of the individual than to investigate the nature of his social mobility. The question which must be answered for each individual is whether or not he is being forced downwards or prevented from fulfilling his expectations of upward social mobility.¹¹

⁹ One of the authors of this study made a series of observations on the manner in which this group dealt with their frustrating experiences following the rapid loss of secure status. The vast majority reacted as described above. A small minority became even more tolerant than they had been, and rejected Hitler severely. But they paid a great price in increased anxiety, an anxiety which those avoided who accepted Hitler and found a discharge for their hostility in aggression against Jews and other out-groups.

¹⁰ Durkheim, Emile: *Le Suicide*, F. Alcan, Paris, 1897.

¹¹ The same analysis was employed with respect to anti-Negro intolerance and revealed a pattern similar to that of anti-Semitism. For further discussion of this analysis, see Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER V

THE WAR EXPERIENCE¹

Whatever the pattern of their life histories each of the men interviewed had had one common experience—the army. No matter how different their individual fate during the war may have been, it was something they had all shared to some degree. This shared experience permitted some objective evaluation of how reasonable they were in their attitudes toward their own experiences. A man who had been severely wounded had more obvious reason to complain than another whose worst experience was his separation from his family. The men were queried both as to their actual experiences in the army and their own evaluation of them. In this way, it was possible to determine whether tolerant and intolerant persons viewed comparable life experiences in the same way. The answer to this question was to provide evidence as to whether, in addition to the social and economic correlates (social mobility), there were also psychological correlates of intolerance, such as viewing one's experiences as deprivational, regardless of their objective character.

In setting up the questions, no effort was made to study the full impact of war experiences on a man's attitudes. The questions were designed to ascertain whether the reactions of veterans to wartime experiences were rather a reflection of their total personalities than of the actual content of their experiences. In particular, it was anticipated that the discussion and analysis of wartime experiences might produce data which could be used in testing the hypothesis that hostility toward out-groups is a function of the hostile individual's sense of past deprivation.² Therefore the veteran's war experiences were examined both in terms of the actual deprivations he experienced and of his feelings of deprivation.

¹ In this chapter no effort is made to study directly the impact of the war on inter-ethnic attitudes. The war experience is used solely as a means of analyzing the veterans' attitudes and outlooks on life.

² It was also anticipated that the analysis of wartime experiences would produce other pertinent data on attitudes toward the army. Some of them are discussed in Chapter VII.

On the other hand, it was also important to find which of the men reacted favorably to army life because they experienced it as a relief from the insecurities and routines of civilian life.

The different types of army experiences were classified on the basis of objective characteristics and the apparent deprivations associated with them, for example: (1) the objectively greater danger of combat service; (2) wounds and injuries; (3) length of service.

Nevertheless, the findings revealed that army experiences which seemed to involve objective deprivations were not related to differential degrees of interethnic intolerance.³ Thus, as in the case of low economic status, where the objective deprivation which it implied was not positively related to intolerance, objective deprivations in the army were without relation to intolerance.

On the other hand, when a number of different approaches were employed to determine whether army life was subjectively experienced as deprivation, a *significant* association emerged between the expression of subjective feelings of deprivation and outspoken and intense anti-Semitic attitudes.

For example, the men were queried, "Do you feel that you got a bad break in your army career?"

Typical examples of responses by men who thought they had had a bad break were the following:

A twenty-seven year old private first-class said:

"Being in the infantry was a bad break—anything would have been better. You had no way to keep clean—we had the worst food of any."

Another twenty-seven year old private said he had had a bad break because:

"I wanted to get somewhere. But somebody else always got it. I deserved a rating and never got it. When they wanted somebody to repair something on a gun, I was always called because the other guy didn't know. That's why I never had no use for the army. They never gave a rating to a person who should get one."

On the other hand, some men felt it characteristic of the army to give men a good break. A twenty-nine year old private first-class said:

"I got a good break. I went to school and had the opportunity to be somebody. What I liked about the army is that they always give you a break."

A thirty year old staff sergeant had once been demoted; yet he bore no resentment and felt well satisfied with his lot. He said:

³ For an analysis of these characteristics and their relationship to intolerance see Appendix Tables 9(A), 10(A), 11(A).

"In my army career I got a good break. I was made staff sergeant in 1942 only I was busted. But I made it back in another outfit. And I got to be mess sergeant, and mess sergeants eat good."

The responses revealed a sharp distinction between tolerant and intolerant veterans (Table 1(V)). Of those who claimed to have had a bad break in the army, almost five times as many were intolerant as tolerant. On the other hand, a considerable majority of those who claimed to have had a good break were tolerant.

TABLE 1(V)
"DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU GOT A BAD BREAK IN
YOUR ARMY CAREER?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Good break | 38 | 62 | 26 | 62 | 20 | 43 | 84 | 56 |
| Bad break | 3 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 16 | 34 | 24 | 16 |
| "Normal" | 13 | 21 | 5 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 21 | 14 |
| Other | 7 | 12 | 6 | 14 | 8 | 17 | 21 | 14 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

Below it will be shown that, by and large, both tolerant and intolerant persons had had the same type of army experience. Hence, the intolerant man's tendency to consider his fate as worse than it should have been was five times that of the tolerant man's. Equally interesting was the distribution of the opinion that one's fate was average; that one is (or was) not particularly "bad off" or the converse. Of those men who considered their fate in the army to have been "normal," over four times as many were tolerant as were intolerant.

Despite the clear association between subjective feelings of deprivation in the army and hostility toward ethnic minority groups such as the Jews, it should be noted that there was a small group of men who did not follow this pattern. Twenty expressed outspoken intolerance toward the Jews, but felt that they had had a good break in the army. On the other hand, three men who fell into the tolerant group claimed that they had had a bad break in the army.

Of course, the type of statistical analysis applied in this study reveals only the tendencies of attitudes to be related; almost never will there

exist a perfect correlation. As a matter of fact, if a perfect correlation were to exist, it would probably mean that data on one and the same attitude were gathered under two different headings. Still, much could be learned about the relationship between attitudes from a study of deviant cases.

An examination of the interview records suggests interesting hypotheses which may partially explain why some of the men deviated from prevalent patterns. All three tolerant men who claimed that they had gotten a bad break in the army gave the same reason for their "bad break." In a general way they all resented the treatment they received from their officers. For example, a thirty-three year old air corps sergeant said:

"I wasn't treated right by those damn officers. There was no respect due to an enlisted man from an officer."

Thus, their feeling of having had a "bad break" was not due to an overall attitude toward the army but rather to a specific resentment of officers.

On the other hand, it is also striking that contrary grounds were offered by the intolerant men for their thinking they had gotten a good break in the army. Five of them, either in connection with this question or elsewhere in discussing army experiences, declared that they reacted favorably to the army because of the discipline of army life or because of the position of authority they held. For example, one intolerant man stated that what he liked most was:

"The discipline and the strong order. . . . If I were single I'd make a career out of it. I liked the physical culture, fitness."

A twenty-six year old sergeant said:

"I enjoyed every day of it. When you're home you have no steady routine, you do what you want when you want."

For three other intolerant men, army life was a "great adventure." For example, a twenty-six year old private first class said:

"It was a good experience; things happened that never would have happened. Going across, seeing some of the wonders of the world. Before that I never got farther than the north woods and never expected to go any farther. It's a good experience."

A thirty-one year old sergeant said:

"It's put more beef and muscle on me. . . . Panama was very beautiful and the Islands—they get you. I'd like to go back."

Clearly these eight of the twenty intolerant men felt that they had had a good break for reasons markedly different from the matter-of-fact

attitude of having had a "good break" in the army which characterized tolerant veterans.

Another question designed to probe subjective feelings of deprivation, may also be discussed. Responses to: "Do you think the time you spent in the army set you back in any way?" revealed a statistically significant difference between tolerant and anti-Semitic veterans (Table 2(V)).

TABLE 2(V)

"DO YOU THINK THE TIME YOU SPENT IN THE ARMY SET
YOU BACK IN ANY WAY?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|-------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Yes | 29 | 47 | 19 | 45 | 36 | 77 | 84 | 56 |
| No | 26 | 43 | 15 | 36 | 9 | 19 | 50 | 33 |
| Other | 6 | 10 | 8 | 19 | 2 | 4 | 16 | 11 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

Here again, there was a greater tendency among intolerant persons to view their army experiences as deprivational. The tolerant men who expressed an opinion on this question were almost evenly divided as might well have been expected; but only a fifth of the anti-Semites saw their war experiences as having been no setback.

The tendency to "feel" that an experience was deprivational can coexist with the ability to objectively evaluate what has actually happened. The findings seem to suggest that intolerance is highly associated with feelings of deprivation and that such feelings persist despite the "knowledge" that one's fate was by no means particularly bad. If this is so, then it should be obvious that attempts to guide the individual to a rational view of past experiences must fail if emotional (and, one may add, unconscious) needs force the individual to view them as deprivational. Similarly, attempts to combat intolerance by means of rational arguments may fail for identical reasons.

In this connection, statements by certain veterans were striking in the degree to which they revealed the discrepancy between objective conditions and the individual's estimate of them. These veterans admitted frankly that frustrations suffered in the army were slight. Nevertheless,

they expressed feelings of deep deprivation which revealed convictions of personal incompetence. For example, a twenty-five year old air corps mechanic who held the rank of corporal summarized his army career as follows:

"I did no fighting, I was never wounded, I was never hospitalized."

Yet, in answer to the question as to whether he had had a bad break in the army, he declared:

"I decided it was impossible to get ahead with the rules the army had and the way the game was being played. I couldn't do the things you had to do to get ahead. There's no use for one person to try to change things. If you want a rating, you let the sergeant make a loan that you know he won't repay."

Thus, for him, failure to rise in the ranks was a subjective frustration. His remarks revealed efforts to rationalize his real or felt incompetence in gaining promotion in the army, in exactly those terms which anti-Semites often use to rationalize their intolerance. He accused others of under-handed methods, against which it was useless to fight, and he considered the hated institution as so overpowering that it was impossible "for one person to try to change it."

A most convincing demonstration that objectively bad experiences do not necessarily lead to feelings of frustration and deprivation was found in the statement of a twenty-five year old ex-combat infantryman private first-class (not a corporal as in the case above), who fought in North Africa, Italy, and Germany, and who claimed, with some justification, that army life had ruined his health and set him back both in education and in the business world. He described his war experience as follows:

"I was a teletype operator in Africa for three or four months, and wasn't in combat then, but all the rest of the time I was laying wire in combat areas. We lost 80 per cent of our company. I never thought I had a chance to come out of it alive."

Yet when questioned about his "break" in the army, he declared:

"I came out lucky. I came out swell on money and passes. I didn't get any breaks, but to come back and be alive today is really swell."

It is not possible to say a priori that all combat soldiers experienced greater actual (as opposed to felt) deprivations, since a man might have experienced rough treatment while training in this country, and even have been maimed in the army without ever having seen the front. But, aside from these individual cases it may be assumed that, within a random

sample, noncombat soldiers experienced the least actual hardship, combat soldiers the most, and combat-support troops something in between. The lack of any relationship between type of army service and subjective feelings of deprivation can be seen below, from Table 3(V). Whether the individual soldier felt he had had a bad break in the army proved independent of his war experience. In fact, the percentage of combat soldiers who felt they had had a bad break was somewhat lower than that of noncombat soldiers.

Thus, a man's evaluation of his army career in retrospect was largely independent of the actual deprivations experienced and depended mainly on his emotional attitude toward this experience in particular, and, one may add, to life experiences in general.

TABLE 3(V)
ARMY EXPERIENCE AND FEELINGS OF DEPRIVATION

| | Combat | | Combat Support | | Noncombat | |
|---------------------|--------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Good break | 30 | 57 | 12 | 40 | 42 | 63 |
| Bad break | 7 | 13 | 4 | 13 | 13 | 19 |
| Normal break; Other | 16 | 30 | 14 | 47 | 12 | 18 |
| Total | 53 | | 30 | | 67 | |

Answers to specific interview questions on army experiences could be tabulated with exactness and statistically treated, but they did not encompass the totality of the war experience or the total reaction to it. Therefore, in an additional effort to study these reactions, the entire section of each interview dealing with wartime experiences was evaluated as a whole. In this evaluation an attempt was made to estimate the dominant feeling of the subject toward his army experience. It was found that the data permitted reliable judgments as to whether the veteran's responses indicated that he was either: (1) embittered about army life; (2) attached to it (gratified by it); (3) indifferent to it or had feelings about it which could not be clearly determined; or (4) accepted it in a matter-of-fact way. (See Appendix for reliability of coding procedures.)

When, on the basis of these categories of analysis, those men who accepted army life were contrasted with those who were embittered by

it, a strikingly *significant* difference was found between the intolerant and tolerant veterans (Table 4(V)). The overwhelming majority of those who were tolerant had an attitude of acceptance toward army life. The outspokenly and intensely anti-Jewish veterans presented a completely reversed picture, in that they were overwhelmingly embittered toward it.⁴

TABLE 4(V)

ACCEPTANCE OF ARMY LIFE

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|----------------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Accepted army life | 44 | 81 | 21 | 64 | 6 | 17 | 71 | 58 |
| Embittered about army life | 6 | 11 | 7 | 21 | 20 | 56 | 33 | 27 |
| Attached to, or gratified by | 4 | 8 | 5 | 15 | 10 | 27 | 19 | 15 |
| Total | 54 | | 33 | | 36 | | 123 | |

In evaluating the preceding table, it should be mentioned that mere "beefing" about the army was not evaluated as constituting embitterment. On the contrary, it was part of the mores of most enlisted men. Nor were statements about the army as being "O.K." considered as revealing attachment to army life.⁵

All sociopsychological investigations seem to indicate that attitudes toward the army are largely the result of experiences antedating enlistment. Thus, what these tables reveal about attitudes toward life, is largely independent of whether or not the individual was a soldier. Judging one's

⁴ Similar patterns characterized the attitude of the veterans in respect to anti-Negro feeling. See Chapter VIII.

⁵ Within a consensus society one would expect that in time of war such a central institution of society as the army would be accepted as "normal" in a matter-of-fact fashion. That fully 27 per cent of those who expressed their opinions in this type of interview should have revealed an essential embitterment toward army life, was therefore striking. To this figure of 27 per cent must be added the 15 per cent who were gratified by army life—again an attitude which in our society can hardly be considered a "normal" reaction to army experience. Thus, an underlying dissensus with one of the basic institutions of our society was found among more than 40 per cent of those who could be classified.

war experiences as either deprivational or not is a function of the individual's total personality or of the adequacy of his adjustive mechanisms in particular. The case material collected by Grinker and Spiegel⁶ corroborates this observation for combat soldiers. Likewise, the fifth of the group who declared themselves attached to or gratified by the army experiences were disposed toward such a reaction because of long-standing factors. They displayed neither a general tendency to accept life experiences in a matter-of-fact fashion nor an ability to make the best of a given situation. These men liked army life because it offered gratifications not previously available to them in civilian life. An examination of their interview records indicates they were men who described their economic or social position before induction into the army as having been deprivational. They seemed to be men who were poorly adjusted to civilian society, and who found gratification and release in the particular adventure and comradeship of army life. They appreciated the "freedom" they experienced in the army from certain restrictions required by "nice" society. It was not surprising, therefore, that among this group there was a high concentration of intolerant men.

It is easier to understand why intolerance was much more frequent among those who rejected military life. The army—particularly during a time of war—is such a central institution of existing society that one cannot very well accept existing society and reject the army, or vice versa. Racial tolerance is the attitude officially favored by the spokesmen of existing society, although they themselves may follow customs condoning intolerance. But intolerance is not favored by the men who reject the army simply because official society condones it, though pretending to frown upon it. On the contrary, intolerance, like hating the army, is an expression of the same body of underlying tendencies, namely a dissatisfaction with existing society, which expresses itself through all channels available.

The thesis postulating an association between intolerance and rejection of existing society was such an important one that it had to be given further attention. When all has been said, the army as such is but one institution, and not the whole of existing society. To investigate this problem, the exclusively negative approach, namely the study of the rejection of institutions of existing society, would not do. There is hardly a man who does not disapprove of some aspect of existing society. And even if it were not so, according to the frame of reference within which this investigation proceeded, rejection of society, or the inability to form positive

⁶ Grinker, R. R., and Spiegel, J. P.: *Men Under Stress*, The Blakiston Company, Philadelphia, 1945.

ties, was not considered an attitude basic to human nature, but rather an after-phenomenon, the consequence of not having formed positive attachments in infancy and childhood.⁷ Therefore, it was considered equally important to study the individual's positive attachments in order to complete the picture of his attitudes toward existing society or any of its institutions. It was not enough to probe the individual's attitudes toward the army since this institution had certain features which might reasonably be rejected by the citizen who was unable to see beyond the petty annoyances of army life to the essential values at stake. The need thus arose to investigate the individual's positive ties to existing society and how their distribution related to intolerance. This was done chiefly in terms of national identification, for reasons outlined below.

The sample under investigation included many second generation Americans living in a metropolis and coming from a social and economic group which had inferior status within that city. They had all felt the impact of modern urban society with its high mobility and complicated division of labor, both of which tend to destroy the identification of the individual with primary and local groups. Instead, social identification and consensus among them was, in a measure, based on identification with functional organizations, and with more inclusive and national symbols of identification.

It is through these identifications that the individual gains a sense of belonging, a sense of personal security, and a sense of worth. It is obvious that the extent and strength of feelings of identification with more inclusive and national symbols of identification are not uniformly distributed throughout the community. For the purposes of this analysis, it seemed reasonable to assume that those sectors of the community where feelings of national identification are weak are made up of individuals whose personal disorganization, insecurity, and apprehension are relatively high.

Interviewing on army experiences presented an adequate opportunity to gather attitude data on identifications with the community at large—the nation. This section of the interview was chosen because in the context of reporting the hardships of wartime experiences, veterans seemed less likely to offer superficial verbalizations which fitted patriotic formulae.

Observers have pointed out that while the war was in progress, American soldiers were not apt to make spontaneous use of patriotic symbols in discussing the war, either among themselves, in conversations with Allied

⁷ The valid assumption that rejection is due to an initial positive attachment which was frustrated may be disregarded here, since rejection as a reaction-formation following initial positive ties still signifies an absence of positive attachment at the present moment and a felt alienation from existing society.

troops and civilians in foreign countries, or for that matter, in conversations with the enemy during occupation. This same absence of a spontaneous use of patriotic symbols was encountered in the sample. It was found that less than one-tenth of them referred favorably to such symbols during any part of the interview. (For example, "the United States," "the flag," "the nation," were considered as patriotic symbols or phrases.) Three per cent referred negatively to such patriotic symbols, while the bulk of the veterans (88 per cent) made no references to them whatsoever. The section of the interview dealing with wartime experiences contained a wide range of questions, both direct and indirect, which might well have supplied the opportunity for such responses.

However, these data throw little light on the actual extent of the men's national identification. They merely indicate a pattern of speech according to which it is "silly" or in bad taste to express freely one's attitudes in terms of traditional symbols of patriotism. This lack of a spontaneous use of symbols, it should be noted, was typical for both intolerant and tolerant veterans.

Since national and patriotic symbols were of no help in fixing the degree to which a man felt he "belonged," other methods were used to determine the character and extent of the veteran's identifications with the nation, and his ability to identify with the objectives of the war. The results of such probes indicated that, by and large, reasonably well grounded identifications of such types were associated with significantly greater intolerance.

For example, in an indirect attempt to probe identifications with the war effort, the veterans were asked who gained through the success of the war. The responses could be classified as to the presence or absence of collective identifications. The men who employed collective symbols which obviously included themselves, rather than specific symbols which excluded them from the group who gained through victory, were *significantly* more tolerant. Collective identifications including the veteran himself were such responses as: "we all gained," "the people," "our country," and the like (Table 5(V)).

As can be seen from the following table, only an approximate two-thirds of the group used symbols which made it possible to determine their attitudes.

Respondents who manifested their collective or national identifications, as well as those who failed to manifest such identification, were not characterized by any particular wartime experiences. Those who felt that

TABLE 5(V)

"WHO GAINED THROUGH THE WAR?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|---|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Collective sym- bols, including veteran | 14 | 34 | 11 | 52 | 6 | 19 | 31 | 33 |
| Nobody | 19 | 46 | 5 | 24 | 4 | 12 | 28 | 30 |
| Specific sym- bols, excluding veteran | 8 | 20 | 5 | 24 | 22 | 69 | 35 | 37 |
| Total | 41 | | 21 | | 32 | | 94 | |

they, too, were recipients of the benefits of the war, irrespective of the cost of the war to themselves, obviously had strong enough feelings of identification to believe that the results of their effort were beneficial to the country as a whole and thus also to themselves. They had a stronger sense of personal security, of "belonging," and these factors seemed intimately connected with a lesser need or desire to express hostile sentiments against particular groups—either functional or ethnic.

CHAPTER VI

ANXIETY AND INTOLERANCE

One of the basic problems on which this study has tried to throw light was the question of whether intolerance is a function of the hostile individual's anxiety. Those factors most popularly associated with intolerance—economic status and other social attributes—have already been examined in Chapter IV, where it was shown that for the group studied, low income was less related to intolerance than the decline of a person's socioeconomic status. In addition, the data in Chapter V have shown that actual hardships in the army were relatively unrelated to intolerance, while subjective feelings of deprivation were closely related to aggressive feelings against an outgroup. All these data suggest that contrary to prevalent belief, intolerance is less a function of the objective situation and more one of personal evaluation. Since anxiety originates in past experiences and attaches itself to what are considered dangers of the present or the future, the investigation then turned to an analysis of subjective attitudes about present and future tasks.

Here an important reservation must be made. A person may evaluate his position as precarious and still remain tolerant because he blames only himself for the circumstances of his life. Psychological studies of depressed individuals have shown that depression is due to critical and otherwise hostile feelings which have been turned inward against the self. If this interpretation of depression is accepted, then feelings of intolerance will, psychologically speaking, originate in a middle area between feelings of security and competence, and those of great self-criticism and depression.

There were seven men in the sample who evidenced considerably greater anxiety and pessimism than was characteristic of the majority of tolerant men (see also footnote page 120, Chapter VII). Some of these seven who were tolerant indicated tendencies towards severe self-criticism and toward a desire for greater punishment by their parents and/or more rigid discipline in the army. However, in the initial statistical treatment of the data on anxiety, all persons showing anxiety are grouped

together in the following discussion, whether or not they directed their hostility toward an outgroup.

In studying the impact of anxiety on intolerance, it must be realized that although anxiety can be viewed as a psychological phenomenon, and as such is not directly related to events in the outside world, there are degrees of reasonableness in fear. Obviously a person whose position, experience, and special job-training make him relatively indispensable will have less reason to be anxious about a slight recession than a person without such security on the job. Therefore, an attempt to establish an unqualified association between intolerance and a fearful anticipation of what the future might have in store would have been erroneous. Persons who have valid reasons to be uneasy about the future, and who express such uneasiness freely, possess a different personality structure, and their apprehension is different in character, from those who are anxious about their future without valid reasons. Failure to discriminate between the two groups might have distorted the true picture of an association between anxiety and intolerance. The problem therefore arose of separating these groups, as it was possible to separate them in determining the actual deprivation they experienced in the army and their own evaluation of it (combat versus noncombat, wounded versus nonwounded men). The man who carefully evaluates his future and then correctly estimates it as bad is basically different from the man who is apprehensive without good reason.

Within the structure of this study it was relatively difficult to establish a reliable basis for evaluating how realistic a man's anticipation of his own future was. Therefore this was gauged by indirect methods. By asking the veteran to estimate future events, he was forced to base his answer on feelings of what the future had in store for everybody, rather than himself alone. In this way, his answers reflected his own feelings of optimism or pessimism rather than an evaluation of his personal life expectations. Such methods, moreover, had one great advantage—they eliminated to some degree the previously mentioned difficulty of isolating the person who is anxious about his future but finds it threatening because of his own shortcomings.

Questions about unemployment proved useful in learning about these anxieties. The depressive person who expected to experience failure because of his own incompetence was likely to begin with: "It won't be so bad, but as for me. . . ."

On the other hand, the person who tended to blame his failures on others rather than on himself was most likely to accept his fate not as

something personal, for which he would have to carry responsibility, but as the common fate of his group. Such a man usually predicted that things would be "terrible for all."

Rather than attempt the impossible, namely to examine degrees of anxiety in all the major areas in which male adults must function (including their sexual role as husbands, their emotional tasks as fathers, or their economic duty to provide) as well as their fears about their health, or political change, it was preferred to make a careful analysis of the veterans' expectations in a few areas, particularly in economic and political matters where it was possible to infer the presence of underlying apprehensions.

For each man a discharge from the army meant facing anew the economic problems of civilian life. Before detailed questions were asked about specific insecurities and apprehensions, an effort was made to gauge a man's general level of optimism. During the initial portion of the interview, for example, the veterans were asked how they thought "things in general" would turn out.

The expression of optimism, regardless of the veteran's definition of "things in general," was *significantly* associated with tolerance toward Jews, as can be seen from Table 1(VI).

TABLE 1(VI)

OPTIMISM

| | Tolerant | | All Anti-Semites | |
|------------------------------|----------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Optimism | 27 | 44 | 23 | 26 |
| Pessimism | 20 | 33 | 45 | 51 |
| Other (including don't know) | 14 | 23 | 21 | 23 |
| Total | 61 | | 89 | |

This general question was followed by a number of related questions, one of which referred specifically to veterans. "Now that the veterans are back," they were asked, "how do you think they are going to get along?" This question allowed the veteran to project his own personal views on to the veteran public at large. The subjects who reported that veterans are (will be) getting along well, or very well, tended to be *significantly*

more tolerant toward Jews than intolerant. Those who reported that the veterans are (will be) getting along badly or very dissatisfied, were more intolerant than tolerant (see Appendix Table A(12)).

The similarity of reaction to these quite similar questions speaks for the reliability of the instrument. Posing the question was also in line with the conversational character of the interview and led on to a discussion of specific complaints and circumstances interfering with the welfare of veterans. No correlation was found between intolerance and specific gripes such as the lack of housing and decent paying jobs, or difficulties in getting former jobs back.

While general feelings of optimism or pessimism—and their relation to intolerance—could be studied from the reactions to these questions, they permitted no estimates of the reasonableness of the men's expectations. A more specific study of attitudes underlying optimism and pessimism was made on the basis of reactions to the government program for veterans, in particular the G. I. Bill of Rights. Responses to questions about the bill revealed a tendency among some veterans to feel both cheated and deprived because "not enough is being done for the veteran," and also a tendency to fear the future, where the men felt that the Bill provided inadequate assistance. The government aid program was available to all veterans on an equal basis. Therefore to criticize it as inadequate indicated either a feeling of deprivation (not receiving enough) or fearful anticipation (not being provided for in the future), or both. The belief that enough was being done for the veterans was *significantly* related to tolerance toward the Jews. The reversed pattern was encountered among the outspoken and intense anti-Semites (see Table 2(VI) below).

TABLE 2(VI)

"DO YOU THINK ENOUGH IS BEING DONE FOR THE VETERANS NOW?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Enough | 36 | 59 | 16 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 64 | 43 |
| Not enough | 16 | 26 | 17 | 41 | 27 | 58 | 60 | 40 |
| Other | 7 | 12 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 18 | 12 |
| Don't know | 2 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

In spite of the foregoing it would be incorrect to evaluate reactions to the government aid program without considering the realities of the veteran's life situation. Certain provisions of the program added to the earning power and well-being of men who were well able to support themselves and their families without such aid. They were relatively less satisfactory for men without means of livelihood who had also to care for dependents. Therefore reactions to the bill had also to be analyzed in terms of the man's economic status.

Statements about the adequacy of the veterans' program were compared with the veterans' actual income at the time of the interview and the two were found to be entirely unrelated. The following table shows that in all income groups the men were evenly divided in their opinions.

TABLE 3(VI)

"DO YOU THINK ENOUGH IS BEING DONE FOR THE VETERANS NOW?"

| Income at Time of Interview | Number | |
|-----------------------------|--------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| Up to \$3,000 | 39 | 40 |
| Over \$3,000 | 14 | 12 |
| Unemployed | 3 | 4 |
| Student | 5 | 3 |
| Total | 61 | 59 |

Thus while anti-Semitism was associated with the feeling of deprivation (that not enough was being done) this feeling was *not* related to current income level and the higher degree of security and comfort which higher income levels imply.

Intolerant men who feared that veterans would find it hard to get along tended to mix their personal difficulties with their estimates of the situation in general. Usually, their remarks elaborated in great detail the many sources of difficulty which they claimed were beyond the control of the individual veteran. For example, a veteran who was intensely hostile to Jews and Negroes declared:

"There's little prosperity today. On the whole veterans won't get along too good. They're running into the housing shortage, lack of funds, poor physical health, and difficulty in free enterprise. He isn't able to advance himself. He's hampered by people refusing to help him. If he tries to get into business—look at the cab company. If he wants to open a tavern he can't get a license. They

say they give him seniority, but they don't. If a man's been with a company for four years while the veteran was at war, he gets more money than the veterans. The company doesn't give the veteran seniority because he doesn't want to hurt the man who's been with him for these four years. The disabled veteran can't get hospitalization. There's a lack of sufficient hospitals. He can't get a physical checkup until his claim is settled. I was turned down at Hines (the local veteran's hospital). I filed my claim six months and haven't heard from it yet."

Complaints of intolerant veterans who felt that not enough was being done for them were frequently characterized by a sense of being cheated or defrauded through no fault of their own:

"They're just putting up a big front and it's colorful on paper only. They're doing a few good things for the veteran but they're certainly not living up to what they said they would do. They should have jobs with a pay scale according to ability. The employers aren't giving credit for what the veteran learned in the service. They won't hire if the veteran hasn't had civilian experience and the veteran doesn't get a chance to prove his ability. They should also do something about living costs and housing."

By contrast, tolerant men who thought veterans were getting along well, gave responses which were usually less personalized and they revealed a willingness and ability to make more objective estimates of the situation as a whole. For example, one tolerant man felt that veterans fared "very well," and added:

"Most have seen enough of travel and are willing to settle down. It may take a little while for them to settle down. They appreciate home. It may take a little while for them to tone down. They may be nervous for six months to a year, but he'll be better than if he'd never been overseas. They've seen enough of the rest of the world to appreciate this country. England and France haven't a thing compared to this country."

Another tolerant man said:

"The majority are doing fine. Most of them are glad to get home, settle down, marry and have families. Ultimately, they'll reach the objective."

The responses of tolerant men tended to emphasize, or at least to recognize, the possibilities for individual initiative in availing themselves of governmental aid; they appeared more self-reliant in this respect. Two typical examples were:

"It seems like it (that enough is being done for the veteran). The state's trying to put through a bonus and there's all kinds of schooling if the veteran wants to take advantage of it."

"They've given them most every opportunity. The Employment Service gives them preference on jobs and they've encouraged the G. I.'s to continue their education under the G. I. Bill."

FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In discussing whether they had had a good or bad break in the army, or whether the V.A. program was adequate, the men were talking about matters on which they had reasonably adequate evidence for forming a judgment. When speaking of how things were likely to turn out, they had to speculate about what the future held in store for them and such speculation was strongly colored by their personal outlook on life. In terms of the characteristics of the sample, the economic well-being of most of the men would depend on their ability to secure employment. Therefore, in order to secure data on the relationship between intolerance and feelings of personal insecurity, the interviewees' fears about being unemployed were investigated. Anxiety about their economic future was not fully revealed in response to any one single question. Statements indicating fear of unemployment, or the conviction that, come what may, a man would always be able to make a living, appeared not only on direct question, but also in response to such questions as whether enough was being done for the veterans, or who should be given priority on the job. It was necessary to analyze an entire section of the interview in order to secure adequate data on apprehensions about unemployment. Table 4(VI) presents the conclusions of two independent analysts, who classi-

TABLE 4(VI)
APPREHENSION ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Low apprehension | 17 | 28 | 5 | 12 | 4 | 9 | 26 | 17 |
| Moderate apprehension | 29 | 47 | 22 | 52 | 25 | 53 | 76 | 51 |
| Great apprehension | 15 | 25 | 15 | 36 | 18 | 38 | 48 | 32 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

fied this portion of the interview into three categories of high, moderate, and low apprehension about unemployment.¹ Examination of the table reveals a *significant* relationship between economic apprehensions and intolerance.

One-half of the sample showed an attitude of moderate apprehension, which was about equidistant from exaggerated fear and uncritical optimism. This attitude may be considered a "normal" evaluation of the chances for unemployment as they existed at the time of the interviews. This attitude was characteristic for approximately the same group which accepted army life matter-of-factly, without either enjoying the experience or being overcritical about it. Thus, again, the same percentage took a more or less matter-of-fact attitude on a central economic problem of our society.² That half of the sample expressed moderate apprehension about the future at the time of the interview has other important implications for an understanding of intolerance.

Table 4(VI) also shows that only the low apprehension group was considerably more tolerant. The middle group and the very apprehensive group displayed a similar pattern as regarded tolerant, stereotyped and outspoken attitudes toward the Jews. Still, a fourth of the men who had great apprehension about their future were, nevertheless, tolerant. Thus, although there was an association between apprehension and intolerance, there was little basis for believing that a high degree of apprehension was characteristic of a high degree of intolerance. If one dared to predict on the basis of these data, one might say that any shift from low to even moderate apprehension would be likely to increase the frequency and intensity of anti-Semitic feelings, while a shift from moderate to great apprehension might produce less marked consequences in this respect, provided the degree of apprehension did not become extreme—our data permitted no generalizations on the possible consequences of extreme apprehension.

Since the fear of unemployment is, among other factors, a consequence of feeling unable to protect oneself against it, the veterans were questioned as to how well they felt able to cope with the problem of future unemployment. More than 40 per cent indicated that they had no resources with which to meet a depression. The few persons who claimed they need not fear a depression (22 per cent) were those who stressed

¹ The percentage error in classifying these data, as reported above, was 8.0 per cent.

² In terms of an ideal statistical distribution, it is significant that the curve, although normal in the middle area where half of the sample was located, was so obviously overweighted with respect to great apprehension. There, twice as many men were found as in the low apprehension group, indicating an imbalance toward fear.

that their current jobs were ones which offered security even in bad times. In the main, these were civil servants and public utility workers. Within this group the tolerant, stereotyped, and outspoken anti-Semites were evenly distributed. Apparently such "job security" had no direct effect on the degree of intolerance. Less than 5 per cent mentioned financial resources. Compared with such external security, only less than 5 per cent mentioned personal skill and social qualifications—the traditional bases for success and security in the United States.

By contrast, tolerant men who felt secure (low apprehension about unemployment) made relatively frequent reference to the fact that they were part of a family group which was so well knit that each member could rely on the support of the others.

"There are three of us working in my family. I don't think all of us would be out of work at one time. My sister works at the telephone company, and she works on pensions and if there were unemployment they would still have to have someone working in pensions. My other sister works in a hospital and she certainly wouldn't lose her job. People are always sick. I don't think it would hurt us very much."

In view of the fact that tendencies to react violently to frustrating experiences are by no means restricted to ethnic hostility, it may be mentioned that five of the seven men who predicted resort to violence in the event of another depression were also strongly intolerant toward Jews. All of them were also strongly intolerant of Negroes as well. A few examples may illustrate predictions of violence in the event of a depression. The last of them was most explosive and also provides an example of how violence in ethnic relations was spontaneously mentioned in response to the seemingly unrelated question of possible unemployment during a depression.

"The next depression will be pretty bad because you have a lot more children than you had in the last one, and a lot of these soldiers have been taught to use a gun and they'll use it. You know yourself, you're not going to see your children starve."

"My family will eat, and I will. I don't know how but I'll get it. I'm a believer in self-preservation."

"We'd better not have it. Chicago'll blow wide open. On South Park the niggers are gettin' so smart. We'll have a race riot that'll make Detroit look like a Sunday School picnic. So many are bitter about the part the Negro played in the war. They got all the soft jobs—in the quartermasters, engineers. They're no good for anything else. The white got his ass shot off. They're pretty bitter. If both whites and niggers get laid off, that'll be bad. I'm gonna eat. I know how to use a gun."

It was to be expected that recollections of the last depression would lead to fears about future depression, unemployment, and deprivation. Many answers indicated that the impact of the last depression was still keenly felt. Only seven veterans stated that they had no recollection of it because they had been too young. Only a fourth said that their families got along pretty well, while approximately 40 per cent stated that they and their families had suffered to some degree. The rest (nearly a third) said they had suffered very much.

When the men's recollections were classified on the basis of their anti-Semitic attitudes a *significant* difference in degree of intolerance was revealed as between those who claimed to have suffered to some degree and those who said that they got along pretty well (Table 5(VI) below). Those who got along well were the most tolerant.

Thus the individual's evaluation of his economic past and of his economic future were both shown to be statistically related to his inter-ethnic attitudes. Thus too, it seemed that the tendency to view things optimistically or pessimistically was more a function of the individual's personality—as was the degree of his intolerance—than of any particular

TABLE 5(VI)
RECOLLECTIONS OF THE DEPRESSION

| | Tolerant | | All Anti-Semites | | Total | |
|-------------------------|----------|------------|---------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Suffered to some degree | 38 | 64 | 69 | 82 | 107 | 75 |
| Got along pretty well | 21 | 36 | 15 | 18 | 36 | 25 |
| Total | 59 | | 84 | | 143 | |

past experience. Further confirmation was found in the fact that the tendency to recollect the last depression as having been deprivational was associated to some degree³ with fear of unemployment in the future. However, it should be noted that this association was by no means as marked as the association between either form of pessimistic evaluation and anti-Semitism. In some measure it was to be expected that the link established between intolerance and subjective feelings of deprivation during the war would also hold true for recollections of the last depression.

³ Significant at the 0.06 level.

Typical of the responses of intolerant veterans recollecting deprivations during the last depression were the following:

"Very bad, hit us right between the eyes. It got so bad that we had to apply for relief until my brother and I were old enough to go to work. I had to go to sea for six months, because I wasn't old enough to work, and then came back and started working. That's why I didn't get to finish high school."

"Well, my old man worked until 1930. I was about ten or eleven when things got really bad, and the humiliations and insults are hard to take. I've seen so many of these relief workers they make you antisocial. This one bitch, a Polack, wanted to slap me on W.P.A. I got fired for nonsupport, so I got a private job at \$15.00 a week and that was pretty good. My family had to send me to live with another family because they couldn't afford to have me live with them."

Almost every member of our society is at least occasionally subject to feelings of uneasiness about his economic future. The men in the sample seemed particularly exposed to economic set-backs such as unemployment. The association between apprehension about unemployment and intolerance has already been established. The next question to be investigated was why the tolerant men were less fearful of unemployment and what gave them the security to look to the future with relative calm.

During the last depression, the assurance of at least the bare necessities of life depended, for many people, either directly or indirectly on governmental or other forms of public support. Since then, social security legislation has broadened that minimal basis still further. Moreover, the lessons of the last depression have not been forgotten and the nation is more prepared to combat a depression—particularly in its deprivational consequences for the individual. None of the men doubted that the government would have to supply relief in the event of large scale unemployment. Most of them were convinced that the machinery of unemployment compensation, works programs and so on would be more adequate than in the last depression. They were also more or less convinced that, as they put it, they "wouldn't starve." Why, then, were the majority of the intolerant men fearful in anticipation of future depressions, and the majority of the tolerant men much more secure in this respect? It may well have been that only those men could find security in the conviction that governmental help would be forthcoming, who were not only convinced they would get relief when they needed it but also felt themselves part of that large social community, the nation.

The history of the German republic provides some confirmation of this hypothesis. After the first World War, the socialistic and democratic

parties instituted a social security program. When large scale unemployment set in, unemployment relief aroused little resentment at first and then, only because it was inadequate. In general, it was accepted as a source of relative security, and was not regarded as a stigma on the individual. As a matter of fact, many workers took pride in the program as something they had fought for which was now helping the entire community. Moreover, it was administered by agencies of what those on relief still considered "their" government. At the same time, it was even then regarded as degrading by the small nondemocratic minority of workers who hated the government and who felt it degrading to accept money from a regime which stood for everything they detested. Similar reasons accounted for the hatred of the conservative officers' caste for the democratic government which nevertheless provided them with jobs and pensions. In terms of their caste mores, they felt it particularly degrading to have to accept money from persons and parties whom they despised. The fate of the German republic might have been different if these conservative circles had considered the democratic government "their" government and could therefore have been able to accept pensions without feeling degraded, or guilty for accepting money from a government against the very existence of which they conspired.

When German party coalitions changed and the conservative element held the balance of power, the attitude of nearly all recipients of unemployment relief seemed to change with it. Accepting relief from a hated government which was opposed to the relief program and distributed benefits only unwillingly no longer provided security but only a livelihood—if that—and added to the feeling of deprivation.

It might be assumed that those who feel part of the government can derive emotional security from being an integral part of it, while those who feel themselves outsiders, rejecting or feeling rejected by the government, will feel even more insecure just because of these factors.

The following analysis of political attitudes investigates the data assembled in this study on the validity of the proposition that economic security (and therefore intolerance) is related to a feeling of political identification with the nation.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

It was of prime interest to learn whether the men felt that they had a real stake in the nation as a whole, whether they felt part of it, and how such feelings related to intolerance. How did the individual view our

political system? Did he feel overpowered by the system in general and the existing party system in particular? Did he believe that he as an individual could look toward political action in general, and his own in particular, as means which would help him to achieve his personal goals?

A study of political attitudes with objectives such as those of this investigation could not assume the veteran's ability or inclination to verbalize an explicit system of political opinions. Even the absence of such an articulate system of political opinions and values could hardly be accepted as evidence that they were nonexistent and that the individual was politically disinterested, or that he did not feel that politics affected him. The high percentage of "don't know" responses to political questions on many opinion polls is misleading in this respect. They may reveal something about the individual's attitudes toward existing parties and the limited alternatives they offer at the moment, but they prove little about the personal political opinions of the subject. There are many people who do not seem to view political problems merely as alternative collective actions with which the individual may or may not concur. A "political problem" frequently centers around an individual's personal concerns and the way in which collective action would affect himself, his income and his family. Therefore, in dealing with political problems, questions were asked which would encourage the men to state their political views as if they were dealing with personal problems. It was left to them to decide whether they wished to conceive of a problem, so introduced, as one which required personal action on their own part, or collective and political action on the part of a group.

Probing for the men's conception of positive goals in national affairs was revealing only in so far as it showed that most veterans had given little thought to such problems. In response to such questions as "What do you think can be done to insure a decent life for us?" there was a marked absence of positive recommendations; almost nothing was evoked save criticism of existing conditions. The men were much more articulate about the obstacles which, in all likelihood, would prevent them from achieving their own individual ends. Then they repeated their gripes, but in more specific and elaborate form. The question which introduced this discussion was: "What will interfere with our having a decent life?"

The majority of the answers tended to be concerned with personal problems of an immediate economic character. Fear of inflation was mentioned most frequently, that is by almost a fourth of the group (24 per cent). Next most frequently came complaints about the greediness of people (21 per cent). It should be mentioned that at the time of

the interview most men found themselves buyers in a seller's market. Moreover, the two things many of them needed most, dwelling quarters and a car, were accessible only by catering to a group of people of whom many were profiteering. This may explain why greediness was so high up on the list. Disgust with politicians and political parties was also quite high (19 per cent), but again local conditions may have exercised some influence. Dissatisfaction with the local Kelly-Nash (Democratic) machine, which had dominated the city for many years, was widespread, and its deficiencies were well advertised. There was also considerable dissatisfaction with the Republican state government. Compared with these dissatisfactions, the conviction that another war would interfere with the enjoyment of life was not frequently mentioned (13 per cent), although another 10 per cent decried our too international foreign policy which might involve us in another war. Thirteen per cent mentioned big business and monopolies. In view of the widespread fear of unemployment, which emerged later in the interview, it should be noted that depression and unemployment were spontaneously mentioned by only 9 per cent of the group as factors which were likely to interfere with the prospect of a decent life.

The selection of a particular obstacle as interfering with a decent life bore no correlation to tolerance or intolerance toward Jews.

None of these dissatisfactions seemed to reveal underlying attitudes. They seemed to be repetitions of current slogans, although each man emphasized different gripes. Reflective of what seemed more persistent attitudes were answers to the question: "Do you think that what the government has been doing these days is affecting the liberties of the ordinary people?" A third of the veterans thought that their liberties were impaired by governmental interference. They were *significantly* more tolerant than those who felt either that government action was not affecting their liberties, or that it was necessary or helpful.

Attitudes toward governmental actions which might be characterized as interfering with the liberties of the ordinary people may, in parts, have been influenced by the men's attitudes toward the party in power. In order to be certain that the relationship between tolerance and identification with the nation was not due to an equation of the government in power with the nation as a whole, another measure was employed to gauge acceptance of the existing political system. A man might violently reject the party in power and still feel himself identified with the nation's political institutions, if he assumed for instance, that at some future date his party would be able to exercise an important influence on the state.

TABLE 6(VI)

"DO YOU THINK THAT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN DOING
THESE DAYS IS AFFECTING THE LIBERTIES
OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE?"*

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|---|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Gov. is affecting liberties | 20 | 33 | 14 | 33 | 22 | 47 | 56 | 37 |
| Gov. is not affecting liberties to any great extent | 24 | 39 | 12 | 29 | 15 | 32 | 51 | 34 |
| These restrictions are necessary; are helpful | 11 | 18 | 11 | 26 | 3 | 6 | 25 | 17 |
| Some Americans have too much freedom | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't know | 6 | 10 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 13 | 16 | 11 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

* The level of significance in this table is .05.

TABLE 7(VI)

ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTIES IN GENERAL

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Rejected the major political parties | 17 | 28 | 14 | 33 | 22 | 47 | 53 | 35 |
| Accepted major political parties | 24 | 39 | 10 | 24 | 14 | 30 | 48 | 32 |
| No opinion or indeterminate | 20 | 33 | 18 | 43 | 11 | 23 | 49 | 33 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

Thus another estimate of a person's identification with our political system, and hence the nation, could be found in his acceptance or rejection of the party system which characterizes the political life of this nation.

In Chapter IV it was reported that no significant association was encountered between intolerance and nominal political party affiliation. Table 7 (VI) above shows that a *significant* relationship exists between ethnic intolerance and attitudes toward the existing major political parties in general. Those veterans who rejected or condemned the political party system, regardless of whether they declared in favor of one of the two major parties or claimed to vote for it, were *significantly* more intolerant than those who accepted or approved of political parties as they were currently set up.⁴

Despite this rejection of the two major parties and of the existing political system, there emerged no tendency on the part of the intolerant veteran to display a sense of genuine individualism. The contrary, in fact, appeared to be true. Among the men who rejected the existing political party system were those who threatened violent action in the event of serious economic difficulties. They expressed a desire for action which could be characterized as explosive and chaotic, but without stable direction. Nevertheless, these men did not conceive of their actions as leading to a change in the structure of society.

The absence of any sense of genuine individualism emerged most clearly from the responses to the question of who should be the agent to take action in their behalf. The particular suggestions as to what should be done to assist the veteran in adjusting to civilian life were closely connected with specific gripes. Of those who had specific suggestions to make, more than 40 per cent designated the government as the proper agent to implement them. The veterans themselves were mentioned by only 9 per cent of the group, while another 5 per cent invoked the symbol of "the people."

The selection of the agent who should undertake the reforms or provide the assistance suggested by the veteran was *significantly* related to their depth of intolerance. The intolerant group (whose tendency to reject the existing political system and to think government interfered too much was mentioned above) was most prone to call upon the government to aid the veterans. Fifty-eight per cent of the outspoken and intense anti-Semites thought the government should take care of the

⁴ The analytical categories of acceptance, rejection, or indeterminate were applied to the entire section of the interview dealing with political parties, since no single question was adequate.

veterans, or should at least assist them considerably more than it was doing. Only 38 per cent of the tolerant men expressed similar views. While such demands may seem reasonable for the tolerant veterans, whose tendency to accept the existing political system has been established, it certainly reveals an apparent contradiction in attitudes among the intolerant group. This may be exemplified by the statements of two intensely anti-Semitic men.

One of them made disparaging statements about both political parties throughout the interview. He could not "see either one of them in power." His notion of the working of the two-party system was confused, and his hatred for both parties was so great, that he felt "we should have a split ticket and let them fight it out. We shouldn't have more than half of each in power." He was very critical of governmental efforts in behalf of the veterans; as a matter of fact, he was most critical of anything the government did, or might do. Nevertheless when asked who should provide the abundant assistance for the veterans which he considered the required minimum, he answered: "The War Department, since it put him (the veteran) in the position he's in."

The other man was also highly dissatisfied with both parties, and felt that aid to veterans was a far cry from being adequate. But when asked who should better things, he replied: "The veterans will never do anything for themselves. The government will give them the benefits coming to them."

Thus, while many tolerant men felt either that enough was being done for them and thus approved of governmental actions in their behalf (or felt able to take care of themselves without added assistance), the intolerant men tended to reject the political system on which the government rested but to call on it for the help which they felt otherwise unable to secure. It should not be overlooked that statements such as those quoted above, which were quite characteristic for men who rejected the government, nevertheless showed a certain expectation that the government would "give them the benefits coming to them."

Some insight into this attitude may be found in the collective findings of this study on tendencies which prevailed among the intolerant group: They rejected the government, they felt that not enough was being done for the veteran, they were apprehensive about their economic future, and they showed a lack of identification with national symbols. It seems altogether likely that these attributes were closely connected with one another in the intolerant men's personalities. Perhaps their feelings that not enough was being done for them originated in their insecurity about

governmental help, which was due in turn to their rejection of the existing political system which again therefore, could not provide them with a feeling of security. Perhaps, on the other hand, those who felt that ours is a workable system of government and a true provider for the needs of the people, derived considerable comfort from the conviction that the government would fulfill its role in providing at least a minimum standard of living.

If this analysis were valid, then the reason for the intolerant men's inability to find security in the thought that the nation would carry the burden for their well-being in times of need may well have been psychological rather than economic. Why did the intolerant men's conviction that they would be cared for by the government to some degree fail to provide them with security? Very possibly the prospect of receiving economic help from that large family, the nation, offered security only to those who felt themselves emotionally part of the social community. To those who rejected their community and its representation, the government, accepting help took on a degrading character. Such help, therefore, could offer only physical comfort but not emotional security, for that requires the feeling that one's self-respect, if not one's status, be protected. By contrast, it should be recalled that some tolerant men found security as regarded their future in the fact that they could rely on receiving help from other members of their family.

This hypothesis found support in clinical observations of persons who had fallen out with their families, who rejected their relatives and felt rejected by them. When in need, the majority of them would accept help from the hated members of the family. But little security was derived from such help because it was detrimental to their self-respect. They looked forward to receiving it as just one more emotional (though not economic) deprivation which was being forced upon them.

Yet in spite of the foregoing, anxiety cannot be inferred solely from a man's economic apprehension and his estimate of governmental assistance in that regard. In the modern world—torn by national rivalries and the actuality of their eruptions—the individual's reactions to the threat of war are also a measure of his anxiety. Economic security is by no means the only protection which a well-functioning government provides for the people. The government is also looked upon as a securer of external and internal peace. If the previous assumptions were valid, it was to be expected that those tolerant men who showed their tendency to accept the government would derive relative security from the thought that it would also be able to fulfill its protective functions. On the other

hand, men who rejected the government would feel insecure about the government's ability to provide security in these respects.

Intolerant men did in fact reveal a tendency to feel threatened by future events which were in many ways related to security. Such feelings were often coupled with feelings of despair about the chance of altering the course of events. Feelings of political inevitability and vague anxiety about the future characterized the intolerant veterans.

Opinion on the chances for a long peace, for example, was divided about evenly among those who thought the chances were good, those who thought they were poor, and those who thought it depended on circumstances. Those who felt the chances were good were *significantly* more tolerant than those who felt they were poor (Table 8(VI)).

TABLE 8(VI)

"WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE THE CHANCES FOR A LONG PEACE?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Good | 23 | 38 | 15 | 36 | 11 | 23 | 49 | 33 |
| Poor, slim | 19 | 31 | 10 | 24 | 20 | 43 | 49 | 33 |
| Depends | 19 | 31 | 17 | 40 | 16 | 34 | 52 | 34 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

The relation between intolerance and a general inclination to feel threatened was also encountered in other respects. For example, when asked, "Do you think there are any threats to peace inside the country?" about 40 per cent of the sample declared, in effect, "There aren't any at the moment." This response, was found to be *significantly* concentrated among those veterans who had the least amount of intolerance. The number of responses were too small to differentiate statistically among other frequently employed symbols of threat on the part of the intolerant veterans. The latter tended to refer to labor disputes, foreign diplomats, and "spies." Ten veterans mentioned race riots or racial problems, and eight of them were either outspokenly or intensely intolerant.

The most frequently attributed threat coming from outside the United States was Russia (59 per cent). The next most frequently alleged was England (10 per cent); while only a small minority (16 per cent) felt secure enough to declare that there were no external threats to the

United States. When these responses were classified by anti-Semitic attitudes, there was a tendency—although not statistically significant—for Russia to be labeled as a threat more often by the intolerant veterans.

As an index of the individual's attitude toward politics, the veterans' use of the symbol "common man" when referring to themselves in the context of political problems was tabulated and analyzed. The contextual use of the phrase leaves little doubt as to what meaning it implied for the individual, or what purpose it served him. It was an expression of his rejection of personal involvement in politics. It bore none of the equality or self-assertiveness associated with earlier democratic ideology. On the contrary, it represented an inability to cope with politics as well as a lack of personal self-reliance. It gave expression to the individual's desire to abandon political decisions to other men and may well have been expressive of feelings of inferiority.

TABLE 9(VI)
REFERENCE TO THE COMMON MAN

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| References to the common man | 19 | 31 | 16 | 38 | 25 | 53 | 60 | 40 |
| Absence of such symbols | 42 | 69 | 26 | 62 | 22 | 47 | 90 | 60 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

The use of this symbol⁵ was *significantly* related to the expression of ethnic intolerance (see Table 9(VI)). Of the sixty veterans who made use of the phrase, about one-half made repeated use of it. Not only was intolerance related to use of the symbol, but there also appeared to be a rough association between the *amount* of intolerance and the frequency of using this stereotype. This was particularly the case among those who employed the phrase more than four times in the course of the interview. Thus ethnic intolerance was found to be positively associated with this symbol of personal and political insecurity.

⁵ The symbol "common man" was defined to include "little man" and "ordinary man."

CHAPTER VII

TOLERANCE: A FUNCTION OF CONTROL

The significance of anxiety as a factor contributing to ethnic hostility has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. It would be incomplete, however, merely to predicate that experiences which produce anxiety in the individual will necessarily contribute to overt hostility—either ethnic or otherwise. The fact that individuals experience anxiety without manifesting hostility in their actions, as well as the fact that they may behave aggressively without being intolerant in ethnic matters, shows that the relationship between ethnic intolerance and anxiety needs further elaboration. In terms of dynamic psychology, anxiety is experienced when the organism is flooded with excitation which cannot be mastered or manipulated. Vernacular speech has long recognized the relationship between explosive or hostile discharge and the inability to master emotions, by describing a person as having “lost control” of himself. Control, or more technically speaking, the ability to store tension internally, or to discharge it in socially constructive action rather than unwarranted hostile action, thus becomes a central problem in the study of intolerance.

Each individual who is not plainly psychotic is able to exercise some control over his discharge of tension. The predominant mechanisms of control which a person uses for dealing with inner tensions are among the most important elements characterizing his personality. Each of these mechanisms is more or less adequate for containing a particular type of aggression generated in the individual by anxiety. These controls or restraints remain adequate only if the level of tension does not become overpowering and thereby create unmasterable anxiety. At some level, for each individual, tension becomes disruptive of whatever controls the individual has learned to develop.

The problem which confronts the student of intolerance is not one of a total or long term (psychotic) breakdown of controls. Temporary breakdowns of control, including panic, such as may occur in race riots or other explosive outbursts of violence, are of major importance in the analysis of intolerance, but these remained outside the scope of this

study. Hitler's anti-Semitism, for example, was so devastating because—although irrational in origin as is all interethnic hostility—it was controlled enough to permit an effective anti-Semitic policy to be carried out step by step rather than in one big explosive action.¹

On the contrary, it may be said that interethnic hostility is a symptom of the individual's effort to maintain balance in his psychic economy by discharging tension through the channel of ethnic intolerance. Obviously, excess tension can be readily discharged when socially acceptable channels for such discharge are available. When no such channels are available, the capacity to discharge tension aggressively depends on the structure of individual controls opposing such asocial behavior. The problem which presents itself is thus at least twofold: (1) Why are some persons subject to controls strong enough to prevent them from discharging tension aggressively against outsiders; (2) Why, of all available channels, do other persons find it most expedient to discharge tension in interethnic hostility.

The foregoing chapter has established the positive relation between degree of intolerance and intensity of apprehension; in this chapter an effort is made to analyze the relationship between controls and intolerance.

The source of the individual's control lies in the impact which societal authority makes on his developing personality. The strength of his controls rests on the success he achieves in integrating these requirements into his personality. Clinical observations suggest the manner in which early childhood experiences determine the patterns by which the individual incorporates the demands of society. Short of the psychoanalytical investigation of every individual, it would have been impossible to reconstruct this process for each member of the sample. Nevertheless, and in terms of this study, an effort was made to isolate a number of important authority constellations in the lives of the subjects and to evaluate the individual's reactions to these institutions as a measure of the adequacy of his controls. This made it possible to examine the relationship between the individual's controls and his manifestations of ethnic intolerance.

At this point it should be stated that the *acceptance* of an authority in the shaping of which the individual exercises a relatively high degree of autonomy, (such as when changing party affiliation on purely ration-

¹Dr. Kelley, in his psychiatric study of the twenty-two main defendants at the Nuremberg trials, all of whom were anti-Semites, found only one of them to be psychotic in the clinical sense of the term. (Kelley, Douglas McG.: *22 Cells in Nuremberg*, London, W. H. Allen, 1947.)

alistic grounds), is radically different from *submission* to authority. As varied as religious and political institutions are and as varied as the men's reactions to them were, most of the men viewed them as relatively immutable. Only a very small minority felt that they could influence existing political parties to any extent or that their vote would make much difference. Although some men felt that they could protect themselves against the impact of another depression, none believed that their efforts (either alone or combined) could prevent its arrival. Political and economic systems, in themselves, seemed to them overpowering.

Because religious attitudes and religion as an institution have been more thoroughly analyzed, in dynamic terms, religion may serve as a prototype of an institution, the acceptance of or submission to which was to be related to tolerance. It may be said that unquestioning acceptance of religious values as taught by minister or priest indicates that the individual, in exercising restraint, tends to rely on a type of control in which conscious attitudes and actions are controlled by traditional and nonrational external forces. In contrast to such relatively external control, is a control exercised neither by minister nor priest but originating within the person although such inner control may originally have been achieved through their teachings. If the moral teachings of the church are accepted by the individual, not through fear of damnation or of societal disapproval, but because he considers them absolute standards of behavior independent of external threats or approval, then we say that the individual has internalized these moral precepts. They have become an internal control, but a control which is still only partially conscious and only partly rational. Such control is exercised over the individual by his "conscience," or, technically speaking, by his superego.

Markedly different from *external* control through outside institutions and from *superego* control which also depends for its effectiveness on props in the external world (such as parental images or institutionalized religion) is the rational control of irrational tendencies which forces them into consciousness and then deals with them along purely rational lines. The latter may be termed *ego* control. In actuality, the three types of control are nearly always coexistent, and in each individual case, control will depend in varying degrees on all three—external, superego, and ego control.

Therefore, it will not suffice to investigate the association between control and tolerance in general; it is equally necessary to discriminate between tolerance as related to external control, superego control, and to ego control over hostile tendencies.

Partial evidence of the relation between authority symbols and tolerance has been presented in the analysis of religious attitudes which indicated that veterans who had persistent religious convictions tended to be more tolerant. If the political party system is viewed as a norm-setting institution, then a similar relationship of at least partial acceptance or consensus with this basic institution was found to be associated with tolerance. Such stability of attitudes signifies an ability to store tensions, because acceptance of these institutions indicates the individual's reliance on them to solve his conflicts or at least to assist him in coping with those conflicts which created the tension. Frequent and sudden changes in attitudes are characteristic of persons who have inadequate control over their instinctual tendencies and who are unable to rely on existing societal institutions for providing stability.

Thus it becomes understandable that greater stability in societal status as well as in religious and political affiliations proved to be correlated with tolerance, since they were all phenomena closely related to the individual's relatively greater control over his instinctual tendencies, controls which were strong enough to prohibit immediate discharge in asocial action. Such delay in the discharge of tension permits its channelization into more socially acceptable outlets.

It was to be expected that attitudes toward symbols of army authority would follow the pattern of attitudes toward other representations of society. Army discipline was the specific representation of control within this particular institution and if tolerance was a function of control, then acceptance of army discipline had also to show a statistically *significant* relation to tolerance. This proved to be the case. About a fifth of the tolerant men thought army discipline was too strict while a third of the outspoken and intensely anti-Semitic men held that opinion. (Table 1(VII)).

Controls, it should be said, are not internalized by merely accepting society. On the contrary, general attitudes of acceptance toward existing society and its institutions are the result of previous internalization of societal values as personally transmitted by parents, teachers, and peers. Hence the acceptance of individuals who are representatives of societal values should be more closely related to internal control than the acceptance of discipline in general, which is more characteristic of external control.

Even an individual whose ego is deprived of adequate powers of control can submit to control; in fact, he often seeks conditions which will

help to protect him from being overpowered by dangerous instinctual or hostile tendencies. He then seeks external discipline or superego control to compensate for the weakness of his ego. Ego strength, on the other hand, is characteristic of the ability to master a task along rationalistic lines. In actuality, this means that the individual is able to come to terms with society and "get along" in it without giving up more of his rights to unique individual existence than is required by society.

TABLE 1(VII)
OPINIONS ABOUT ARMY DISCIPLINE

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Was too strict | 14 | 23 | 6 | 14 | 16 | 34 | 36 | 24 |
| Was not too strict* | 47 | 77 | 36 | 86 | 31 | 66 | 114 | 76 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

* Includes respondents who declared army discipline was too strict on rare occasions but not generally.

It is the duty of army officers, for instance, to enforce such requirements as orderliness and regularity. This in itself would only constitute external control. But in their power to enforce obedience officers closely resemble parental figures whose actions and examples force the child to develop a superego. The child must internalize parts of the parental requirements in order to get along with them on a long-term basis. The soldier who remained unable to come to some terms with his officers more or less permanently (i.e., by internalizing some of their demands), was unable to behave in a soldierly fashion, except in the presence of officers or M.P.'s. He remained a "bad" soldier, though he may have behaved heroically in battle. Therefore, attitudes toward officers seemed suitable gauges of the individual's attitudes toward control. On the other hand, a democratic army expects an officer to induce soldiers to do their duty not merely by brandishing his punitive powers, but by setting, in the first instance, an individual example. He is indoctrinated to get his men to do their duties out of liking and respect. Most soldiers, in fact, evaluated their officers on exactly this basis of personal quality.

The tolerant veteran seemed able to make the better adjustment and

to maintain better relations with his officers; he was more willing to accept the authority and discipline of the army as represented by its officers. In general, his attitude was one of general reasonableness. When queried as to how the fellows in their outfits got along with the officers, veterans tolerant of Jews were *significantly* more prone to claim they got along well than were the anti-Semites (Table 2(VII)).

TABLE 2(VII)

"HOW DID THE FELLOWS IN YOUR OUTFIT GET ALONG WITH THE OFFICERS?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|---|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Well | 21 | 34 | 4 | 10 | 11 | 23 | 36 | 24 |
| Some were good, and some were bad | 34 | 56 | 26 | 62 | 27 | 58 | 87 | 59 |
| Bad | 6 | 10 | 12 | 28 | 9 | 19 | 27 | 17 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

It was assumed that men who claimed the fellows got along well with the officers were most probably projecting their own attitudes onto those of the men in their outfits. It might be argued that in interpreting these data, cognizance must be taken of the objective character of the officers, namely, that some were better than others. However, it is most likely that good and bad officers were randomly distributed. Moreover, the results of the Hawthorne research study of industrial relations,² as well as similar studies, indicate rather conclusively that human judgments about supervisory personnel are not objectively reliable, but reflect the individual's point of view. Therefore, the relation between getting along with officers and tolerance toward minority groups remained significant for this study.

It was not assumed, however, that the acceptance of army discipline is identical with submission to external control or to superego requirements, nor that getting along with the officers as individual human beings is indicative of ego strength. Such a clear-cut relation does not exist. But the data permit another interesting comparison. The two preceding tables

² Mayo, Elton: *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Division of Research, Graduate School, Harvard University, Boston, 1933.

show that the same number of intolerant men rejected each type of control, the impersonal discipline and the interpersonal contact with individual officers (twenty-two and twenty-one respectively). The data for the tolerant men, on the other hand, show that in their case a distinction was made between the two types of control. (Fourteen thought the discipline was too strict, but only six got along badly with their officers.) Thus, among tolerant men, there was a greater acceptance of personalized control originating in individual officers than of the distant, immutable control of discipline. In summary, an analysis of the men's attitudes toward army discipline indicated that the individual's ability to deal with institutional demands by self-control or submission is associated with tolerance.

To more fully explore this relationship between tolerance and control, the responses of the individual to symbols of societal authority which signified external control were also studied.

Before that could be done, some relatively precise definitions were needed which would lend themselves to quantitative analysis. In modern society many of the individual's life activities are regulated by a variety of institutions, each of which may command a degree of authority and thus exercise control. A comprehensive index of the individual's relation to institutionalized, external control would have had to be based on his attitudes toward all of them. In this study two groups of institutions were analyzed separately. The first group, that of army control by means of discipline and officers' authority, has already been discussed. The second group is analyzed below. It is composed of significant representatives of civilian authority to which the men were relatively subject at the time of the interview.

The four institutions singled out as being most relevant were: (1) the administration of veterans' affairs; (2) the political party system; (3) the federal government; and (4) the economic system, as defined by the subjects themselves.

The veterans' views of each of these institutions were quite complex, and in some respects, ambivalent. Nevertheless, it was possible to analyze attitudes toward them on a continuum from complete rejection to complete acceptance. To prepare an overall measure of attitudes toward such representatives of external control, each of the statements about these institutions was classified either as acceptance, rejection, or intermediate.

Employing these categories the distribution of acceptance and rejection

of controlling institutions that was encountered is shown in the following table:

TABLE 3(VII)
ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTROLLING INSTITUTIONS

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|--------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Acceptance | 41 | 67 | 20 | 48 | 11 | 23 | 72 | 48 |
| Intermediate | 15 | 25 | 17 | 40 | 13 | 28 | 45 | 30 |
| Rejection | 5 | 8 | 5 | 12 | 23 | 49 | 33 | 22 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

More than three-fourths of the group was at least enough in accord with existing society to accept the control exercised on their lives by some of its societal institutions. Characteristic for the degree of dissensus was that more than a fifth of these men (who were predominantly of the lower middle and lower classes) rejected three or all four of the institutions.

If acceptance or rejection of the four representative institutions is compared with the degree of anti-Semitism, it appears that only an insignificant percentage of the tolerant men rejected them. On the other hand, nearly half of the outspoken and intense anti-Semites fell into the group who rejected these institutions.

Thus the relationship between acceptance of controlling institutions and tolerance was very marked. It was quite revealing to compare the attitudes of the men toward the political party system with their attitudes toward all four institutions of control combined (one of which was the political party system). This comparison is presented in the following table which compares data reported separately in Tables 7(VI) and 3(VII).

Among the outspoken and intense anti-Semites there was no marked difference between attitudes toward the political system alone and the four controlling institutions taken together. The attitudes among stereotyped and tolerant men, however, were markedly different. The more tolerant the men were, the greater was the difference between acceptance of controlling institutions as compared with acceptance of the political party system. A little more than a third of the tolerant men accepted

the party system, but two-thirds of them accepted the four controlling institutions. On the other hand, only a twelfth of the tolerant men rejected the four controlling institutions, but a little more than a fourth of them rejected the political party system.

TABLE 4(VII)
COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES
AND CONTROLLING INSTITUTIONS

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| | Party System | Institutions | Party System | Institutions | Party System | Institutions |
| Acceptance | 39 | 67 | 24 | 48 | 30 | 23 |
| Intermediate | 33 | 25 | 43 | 40 | 23 | 28 |
| Rejection | 28 | 8 | 33 | 12 | 47 | 49 |

The question might be raised as to why the two-party system,³ which offers the men some choice, was less acceptable than the other institutions which permit no choice at all. It seems that while acceptance of existing institutions in general was positively related to tolerance, acceptance of those institutions which relieved the individual of having to make choices was more related to ethnic tolerance. On the other hand, no such marked difference could be seen in the attitudes of the outspoken and intense anti-Semites; the degree of their rejection did not seem materially influenced by the fact that the party system offered them relatively greater freedom of decision.

Compared with this relationship between acceptance of external and superego controls on the one hand and tolerance on the other, efforts to probe for statistically significant relationships between degree of tolerance and relative ego strength came to naught. Various questions were asked in an effort to determine the degree to which the individual felt able to master those problems of everyday living which confronted him. He was asked, for example, whether he felt he could insure his economic well-being within the existing economic system. The responses to this question have been summarized in Chapter VI, where it was reported that less than 5 per cent of the group felt they could count on their own

³ Almost none of the men were considering anything but a two-party system at the time of the interview.

abilities to protect them in an economic crisis, although another 5 per cent felt that their financial resources provided security. The rest of those who felt secure in their jobs also relied on external factors for their security in this area, such as being in civil service.

Lack of ego strength was further indicated by the men's responses to the problem of insuring a decent life for everybody. When asking about desired social and political action, particular courses of action were deliberately not suggested by the interviewer; instead, the individual was left to volunteer his preferred course of action and was then asked who ought to undertake such action. A similar procedure was applied to the problem of what might interfere with "our having a decent life." In both cases, the absence of references to individual action or to individual participation in group action was striking. Suggestions of group action by others seldom went beyond a reference to the vote, and even when voting as a means of improving conditions was mentioned, it implied no positive action by the individual, such as getting out the vote.

It has been mentioned above that the political party system was the one least accepted when compared with acceptance of other institutions of control. But despite this degree of nonacceptance of the party system, there was no desire to take action. When the men were asked whether they thought the ordinary individual had a chance to influence politics, the vast majority answered "No." These data are reported below in Table 5(VII). They indicate that no significant difference existed between tolerant and intolerant men in their hopelessness about the chance to influence political events.

The marked lack of feelings of competence in mastering anything but the most private events of one's life, as well as the tolerant men's willing-

TABLE 5(VII)

"DO YOU THINK THE ORDINARY INDIVIDUAL HAS ANY
CHANCE TO INFLUENCE POLITICS NOWADAYS?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Yes | 13 | 22 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 13 | 25 | 17 |
| No | 45 | 74 | 33 | 79 | 37 | 79 | 115 | 77 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 6 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

ness to accept external control as regulating their lives, can be related to the characteristics of this group. True, the selection of the sample tended to produce a group of men of whom many were lacking in ego strength. That is, the system of selective service actually permitted the men some freedom of choice, particularly when they were willing to take the initiative. Those who took advantage of the chance to influence their fate within the selective service system were those least likely to be found among enlisted men in the army, although they were not absent there. Men of independence, whose ego strength permitted them to shape their own fate to some degree, were those, for example, who enlisted in the merchant marine, or tried to enter the navy while it remained a volunteer service. Others who had initiative may have succeeded in earning commissions as officers. Thus, men with sufficient ego strength to influence their lot even within the controlled situation of a wartime emergency were least likely to appear in the sample. On the other hand, these selective factors made the group more important for this study, which sought to determine the degree to which tolerance is related to acceptance of external controls. This sample, in fact, represented the most numerous group of our male urban population.

The ability to submit to external controls, as much as the internalization of a superego, or the development of a strong ego, depends to a large degree on childhood experiences. Therefore a discussion of relative ego strength, the absence of superego control, and frequency of control by external institutions would be incomplete without some reflection on childhood experiences. This study, however, was not a genetic study. Even when questions about the individual's past were asked, the intention was not to gain correct information, but rather to learn about the individual's present evaluation of past experiences. In the case of recollections of experiences during the depression (see Chapter VI) no effort was made to assess whether the individual had actually been exposed to deprivation during the depression, but only to learn how he viewed his own and his family's economic experience at that time. Similarly, questions about the individual's childhood were designed not to reconstruct the development of his personality structure, but to see how he now evaluated parental attitudes. Evidence from psychiatric sources abounds to show that recollections of childhood experiences as given in a first interview are very different indeed from those which slowly emerge during psychoanalytical treatment. Hence such first statements about the central experience in any individual's life, namely, his relationship to his

parents, have symptomatic significance alone. They are revealing of the man's present and conscious evaluation, different as that may be from the reality of his past. However, it may still be said that, by and large, an individual is more likely to recall his parents as kind when they were relatively "good" parents, while recollections of an absolute lack of parental love are reasonable indications that the relationship between parent and child was full of conflict.

Indirectly the men were led to recollect and to associate on childhood experiences in a section of the interview dealing with marital plans and problems. No direct questions were asked, but the men were queried on the number of children they would like to have, what they thought was the best way to bring up their children, whether they thought that ways of bringing children up had changed since their parents' time, how they would try to get children to behave, and whether they would bring their children up the way their mothers and fathers had. In seven cases, responses were not adequate enough to permit analysis. In all other cases, responses were classified into the two categories: affectionate parents and lack of parental love. A *significant* association was found between tolerance toward minority groups and the recollection of love and affection on the part of the parents, while intolerance toward minority groups was associated with the recall of lack of parental love and harsh discipline.

TABLE 6(VII)

RECOLLECTION OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|--------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Affectionate parents | 40 | 68 | 18 | 47 | 21 | 46 | 79 | 55 |
| Lack of parental love | 19 | 32 | 20 | 53 | 25 | 54 | 64 | 45 |
| Total | 59 | | 38 | | 46 | | 143 | |

The most interesting aspect of the association between intolerance and recollections of parental strictness is that there was virtually no difference (1 per cent) between stereotyped and outspoken anti-Semites. Therefore, it may be assumed that having had affectionate parents (or at least

believing so) is definitely related to tolerant attitudes, while the reverse, though having some influence on intolerance, hardly influences the degree of tolerance. If this should be so (and the data permit of little more than speculation) then one might think that adverse childhood experiences, particularly lack of parental love, have much to do with the need to discharge hostility in later life, but relatively little to do with the intensity with which such hostility will be discharged. This seems to corroborate the findings of other research workers which indicate that ethnic intolerance is acquired relatively late as compared with the development of a general need for hostile discharge.

In view of the particular characteristics of the sample and of the role of external control in shaping their attitudes—particularly toward the ethnic minorities—it may be inferred that this was a group which had not succeeded in internalizing moral standards on tolerance. It was a group which relied on external motivation for most of its life activities and opinions, including its attitudes of tolerance or intolerance. For instance, only a very small percentage based their job choices and aspirations on motives originating in their own personalities or talents, or the assumed social importance of a job. Not only were their current choices of jobs due largely to external factors, but their future aspirations, too, were based mainly on considerations of income or job security.

CORRELATES OF CONTROL

Generalizations from statistical data become more hazardous as consequent analysis deals less with delimitable traits or attitudes than with such complex phenomena as psychological structure and its inner contradictions. In itself, statistical analysis of the relation between tolerance and specific opinions, fears, and expectations is justified. But present day statistical methods seem, as yet, too inadequate to permit refined discrimination as to whether tolerance is related to external or internal controls—and if the latter, whether it is related more to superego than to ego control or a combination of all these factors. In these areas of investigation statistical data can provide approximations which must nevertheless be elaborated by an individual study of each case. The cases were therefore analyzed in these terms and the findings reported below are summarized in Tables 7(VII) and 8(VII). A study of characteristic cases is also presented later in the chapter to support the propositions based on statistical analysis.

The analysis of individual cases proceeded differently from the content

analysis yielding the data in the foregoing portion of this study. Instead of evaluating responses to individual questions, or groups of questions, an independent rating of each interview as a whole was made on the basis of a variety of psychological attributes. It was felt, for example, that in addition to separately evaluating a man's hostility toward Jews, Negroes, officers, fellow soldiers, political parties, and foreign countries, his hostility as revealed by the whole interview record should also be evaluated and correlated with other factors studied. This overall evaluation covered such aspects as controls (external and internal), security, ego strength, hostility, frustration, isolation, and so on. This evaluation may be considered as lying midway between the reliably determined statistical analysis of factors which could be studied separately, and the examination of individual cases presented in the second half of this chapter.

It was evident that in rating the interviews, no norms external to this group could be applied to define low, average, or high degrees of control, hostility, frustration, and so on. The interviews themselves provided the measure of what, for this particular group, was an average, or greater, or lower degree of these attributes. It was intended, if possible, that the average group should contain approximately half of the total number of cases. With this average group as a gauge, deviate interviews could then be rated as higher or lower than the group as a whole. The category of isolation may serve as an example of this procedure. Each interview was read for the frequency with which the incidence or desirability of contacts with others, was mentioned. But the number of such associations was not the only factor taken into consideration; the frequency and relative importance of any one set of contacts were considered equally important.

Inspection of Tables 7(VII) and 8(VII) shows that the method was fairly successful since approximately half of the men fell into the middle group for the categories: security, ego strength, frustration, and isolation. This was not true for the two categories, hostility and controls. Since almost half of the interviews contained little or no indications of hostility, it was not possible to rate them as average for this category. Instead, they were classified as low in hostility, and the rest of the interviews were then divided into two approximately equal groups. A somewhat different procedure was used for controls since it was found possible to divide the men into three groups of approximately equal size.

Of the six psychological attributes, three (controls, security, and ego strength) were positively associated with tolerance toward Jews. Three others (hostility, frustration, and isolation) were negatively associated

TABLE 7(VII)

OVERALL EVALUATIONS—FACTORS POSITIVELY RELATED TO TOLERANCE

| Total Cases | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |
|--------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Controls | | | | | | | | |
| Adequate | 32 | 52 | 9 | 21 | 2 | 4 | 43 | 29 |
| Intermediate | 22 | 36 | 18 | 43 | 15 | 32 | 55 | 36 |
| Inadequate | 7 | 12 | 15 | 36 | 30 | 64 | 52 | 35 |
| Security | | | | | | | | |
| High | 22 | 36 | 5 | 12 | 4 | 9 | 31 | 21 |
| Medium | 26 | 43 | 23 | 55 | 17 | 36 | 66 | 44 |
| Low | 13 | 21 | 14 | 33 | 26 | 55 | 53 | 35 |
| Ego strength | | | | | | | | |
| High | 14 | 23 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 11 | 22 | 15 |
| Medium | 39 | 64 | 28 | 67 | 24 | 51 | 91 | 61 |
| Low | 8 | 13 | 11 | 26 | 18 | 38 | 37 | 24 |

TABLE 8(VII)

OVERALL EVALUATIONS—FACTORS NEGATIVELY RELATED TO TOLERANCE

| Total Cases | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |
|-------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Hostility | | | | | | | | |
| High | 2 | 3 | 8 | 19 | 30 | 64 | 40 | 26 |
| Medium | 10 | 16 | 18 | 43 | 12 | 25 | 40 | 26 |
| Low | 49 | 81 | 16 | 38 | 5 | 11 | 70 | 48 |
| Frustration | | | | | | | | |
| High | 3 | 5 | 7 | 17 | 19 | 40 | 29 | 19 |
| Medium | 24 | 39 | 25 | 59 | 24 | 51 | 73 | 49 |
| Low | 34 | 56 | 10 | 24 | 4 | 9 | 48 | 32 |
| Isolation | | | | | | | | |
| High | 12 | 20 | 12 | 29 | 16 | 34 | 40 | 26 |
| Medium | 27 | 44 | 23 | 54 | 27 | 57 | 77 | 52 |
| Low | 22 | 36 | 7 | 17 | 4 | 9 | 33 | 22 |

with tolerance toward the Jews. The negative association between frustration and tolerance supports, and in some respects amplifies, the basic hypothesis linking intolerance with anxiety. The correlation of generalized hostility with the particular outlet, ethnic intolerance, was to be expected. The link between isolation and intolerance which these data reveal is also in accord with the data reported on childhood recollections. Affectionate relations with parents apparently set the path for good interpersonal relationships later in life; liking people in general (and being liked by them) enhanced tolerance. The association between security and tolerance is also compatible with the findings on social mobility, economic security, and general optimism.

Of all these psychological attributes, the association between control and tolerance was the most important in terms of the problem of this chapter. It was, therefore, the category with which all others were compared.

An analysis of these tables shows that important generalizations can be made if persons showing each type of ethnic attitude are classified in terms of the structure of their controls.

TABLE 9(VII)

TOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE ADEQUATE
(32 Men)

| | Security | | Ego Strength | | Hostility | | Frustration | | Isolation | |
|--------|----------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------------|-----|-----------|-----|
| | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. |
| | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | |
| High | 12 | 37 | 13 | 41 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 12 |
| Medium | 15 | 47 | 17 | 53 | 3 | 9 | 9 | 28 | 13 | 41 |
| Low | 5 | 16 | 2 | 6 | 29 | 91 | 23 | 72 | 15 | 47 |
| Total | 32 | | 32 | | 32 | | 32 | | 32 | |

The *tolerant* men may thus be seen in their majority as relatively strong in controls, markedly low in hostility and frustration, and high in security. Nevertheless the impression received is that for many of them their controls were only adequate in a relative sense—mainly because they were low in hostility and frustration so that even relatively weak controls were adequate.

This overall evaluation also permits dividing the tolerant men into two types—those of a majority and a minority—on the basis of each man's adequacy of controls. Tables 9(VII) and 10(VII) show the distribution

of men with adequate and inadequate controls in relation to the other five categories. Those men whose controls were adjudged intermediate more closely resembled the majority.

These tables highlight the fact that the tolerant men who had adequate controls were also characterized by an absence of hostility and frustration. They also support the conclusion that adequacy of control for these men was relative, depending on the absence of strong feelings driving for discharge.

By contrast, the minority of seven tolerant men whose controls were classified as inadequate presented no consistent picture, as far as their psychological attributes were concerned, although the smallness of their number may have accounted for this. While the majority of the tolerant men showed common features, the minority consisted of men whose tolerance was associated with highly personal factors, differing from case to case, as can be seen from the case material.

In terms of these psychological attributes, no overall characterization

TABLE 10(VII)
TOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE INADEQUATE
(7 Men)

| | Security | | Ego Strength | | Hostility | | Frustration | | Isolation | |
|--------|----------|-----|--------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------------|-----|-----------|-----|
| | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. |
| | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | |
| High | 2 | 29 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 29 | 2 | 29 | 2 | 29 |
| Medium | 3 | 42 | 5 | 71 | 3 | 42 | 2 | 29 | 3 | 42 |
| Low | 2 | 29 | 2 | 29 | 2 | 29 | 3 | 42 | 2 | 29 |
| Total | 7 | | 7 | | 7 | | 7 | | 7 | |

of a positive nature was possible for the *stereotyped* anti-Semites. Their characterization was more of a negative nature; they were the "neither-nors." Their controls were predominantly intermediate and they were neither high nor low in security, ego strength, or hostility. They were moderately frustrated and isolated. On the basis of their strength of controls, they could not readily be classified into distinct groups. Their middle position, as well as the diffuse nature of their characteristics, permitted no such separation. In all six categories they stood midway between the tolerant and the outspoken anti-Semites.

As a group, the *outspoken and intense* anti-Semites were characterized

by the inadequacy of their controls. Their hostility was as high as their controls were inadequate to contain so high a degree of hostility. The majority of them were low in security, which tallied with their pessimistic outlook as reported in Chapter VI.

They could be subdivided into two groups on the basis of control. The two following tables (Tables 11(VII) and 12(VII)) compare the majority of this group, namely, those men who had inadequate controls, with the minority, namely, those who had some measure of control over their emotions.

TABLE 11(VII)

INTOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE INADEQUATE
(26 Outspoken and 4 Intense Anti-Semites)

| | Security | | Ego Strength | | Hostility | | Frustration | | Isolation | |
|--------|----------|---------|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. |
| | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage |
| High | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 22 | 73 | 15 | 50 | 13 | 43 |
| Medium | 10 | 33 | 15 | 50 | 8 | 27 | 14 | 47 | 15 | 50 |
| Low | 19 | 64 | 14 | 47 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Total | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | |

In comparing the two types of outspoken and intense anti-Semites, the outstanding difference was that one-half of the minority group had only low or medium hostility so that some measure of control was possible.

TABLE 12(VII)

INTOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE INTERMEDIATE OR ADEQUATE
(15 Outspoken and Intense Anti-Semites Had Intermediate Controls
and 2 Outspoken Anti-Semites Had Adequate Controls)

| | Security | | Ego Strength | | Hostility | | Frustration | | Isolation | |
|--------|----------|---------|--------------|---------|-----------|---------|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. |
| | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage | centage |
| High | 3 | 18 | 4 | 24 | 8 | 47 | 4 | 24 | 3 | 18 |
| Medium | 7 | 41 | 9 | 52 | 4 | 24 | 10 | 58 | 12 | 70 |
| Low | 7 | 41 | 4 | 24 | 5 | 29 | 3 | 18 | 2 | 12 |
| Total | 17 | | 17 | | 17 | | 17 | | 17 | |

In the majority group, on the other hand, there was not a single man whose hostility could be classified as low, while three-fourths of them showed a high degree of hostility. Data on frustration and isolation followed the same pattern.

These overall judgments about majority and minority types of tolerant and intolerant men, and about typical characteristics of the stereotyped anti-Semites may be exemplified (and corroborated) by excerpts from individual interviews. For each of these groups typical cases were selected for further discussion below.

CASE MATERIAL

1. TOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE ADEQUATE. The first characteristic case to be discussed will be that of a *tolerant* man whose tolerance seemed to be the function of rigid control.

This veteran was twenty-three years old and had had one year of business college. He grew up in a lower class Catholic-Polish neighborhood in Chicago and both his parents had been born in Poland. The interviewer described him as being of medium height and stocky build; he was friendly but slow thinking.

His outlook on life was optimistic and accepting. In attitude he was consistently tolerant and of very reasonable character. Toward the end of the interview, for example, he spontaneously said:

"Why are there so many questions against the Jews? I've never had any trouble with them. I go out with them and never think about their being Jews. There may be bad Jews, but there are also bad Italians, bad Polacks and so on."

He was also relatively tolerant of Negroes. As regarded working with them, he said:

"As a matter of fact, I do. I work in a large office and the niggers are all very pleasant. Not being in real close contact with them, it's O.K. True, with some, I'd rather quit than work alongside of them, but there are many others who're all right."

A reliance on external control for shaping his life was most strikingly evident in remarks about his army career which included thirty-seven months overseas and participation in the amphibious landings at Salerno and at Anzio. Despite this prolonged combat experience, he felt he had had a good break in the army. About army discipline, he said:

"It was too lax. That might sound funny. The army with all of its discipline—but I still think they were too lax."

Originally, he had hated having to join the army.

"I was fancy free and when they wanted to put me under discipline, I wasn't sure that I was the type that could be bossed around. I could have resented it like the others did, but I didn't. I was a good boy.

"Before I went into the army, I was babied and pampered but I came out of it self-reliant. I'm now getting more independent about myself. It knocked more sense into me. It made me more serious. It made me think more seriously than before and it made me conscious of how I dressed and of my general appearance . . . I didn't think I would like the army but it did me a lot of good. The army made a man out of me."

Thus, the army taught him what parents are expected to teach their children: how to dress, to think seriously and, out of choice, to submit to discipline. His need for being controlled was also revealed by the way he criticized his upbringing. He felt he had been spoiled too much and thought the best way to bring children up was for parents

"to agree on religion, the Catholic religion. They shouldn't baby the child. It makes them too soft. You should make them self-reliant. Children nowadays lose respect for their parents far too much. The old ways were better. Then they used the whip, and that seemed to have a better effect than the modern way of bringing up a child."

He continued:

"Use the whip if they do something they shouldn't have done instead of bawling them out, which goes in one ear and out the other. One should use the whip where it hurts most."

His parents "used the whip moderately"; off-hand, he thought not enough. Then he added:

"If they had used the whip more I'd be more impressed with the necessity of doing the right thing instead of doing the wrong thing."

He fully accepted control by societal institutions and it was his opinion that veterans were being reasonably well cared for. He also felt that the existing economic system, as well as the government, functioned adequately. Nevertheless, he asserted that the individual had no chance to influence the institutions of society; nor could he, by himself, do anything to influence politics or the government. There was nothing, he felt, that could or should be done about depressions, which were "inevitable." For his economic security he relied on his civil service job with the post office.

In summary it may be said that this man's attitudes were representative of a group of eleven tolerant men whose tolerance was closely related to strong tendencies to submit to external control. Most of them felt rela-

tively secure within the circle of their families and at their jobs. In a matter-of-fact way and without complaining, they accepted their inability to influence the larger events of their lives which they saw as entirely controlled by societal institutions. They felt the need to be controlled and they accepted such control, even when it was quite stringent. Without such control, they feared that the functioning of society would be impaired.

In general, they were men who had experienced adequate love but inadequate control in childhood. They were, therefore, unable to internalize control through identification with their parents. But since they had experienced parental love and had achieved a measure of economic security, no excess hostility pressed for discharge through intolerance toward Jews. Life experiences after they had left the family circle showed many of them the need for controls which they now sought in externally enforced discipline. Experiencing discipline led these men to submission, and also to belated partial internalization in the form of superego control. Basically, their controls remained a combination of external and superego control. This is what many of them meant who said: "the army made a man of me." Since they were submitting to control rather than exercising it, they could not conceive of the possibility of exercising a measure of rational mastery over their fate—of exercising ego control. They were convinced that the whip was needed to teach people to conform.

Quite different in origin and functioning of controls was the tolerance of a twenty-seven year old veteran of Irish-French extraction with high school education. He was born and raised in Chicago. The interviewer described him as of medium height and weight; his manner was friendly, informal, and completely at ease.

His outlook on life was optimistic and accepting. Of the Jews in the army he said:

"They were treated all right. I wouldn't say that they had a lot of friends. In my outfit everyone got along. We had one Jew. He was a good Jew. I liked him."

He also felt that:

"The Jews are in the same class of people as we are."

This man, too, felt that discipline was essential and that nowadays, in bringing children up, discipline was too lax; but his conception of discipline differed materially from that of the man cited above. It was of the

nature of internalized control, and to some measure, of ego control; it was, therefore, quite different from the external control advocated by the first veteran discussed. His parents brought him up well although his father died when he was eleven years old. They educated him, he stated,

"by treating me as a person who had ideas, and although they were childish, they weren't necessarily wrong. Mother started early talking to me and I just behaved."

Consequently he felt that the best way to rear children was

"to treat them as persons who have their own viewpoints. Children have intelligent minds. They see a lot more than they talk about."

Religion was very important in his life. He and his parents were Catholics.

"My mother's parents were very devout Catholics, and Mother taught me to believe along the same lines; that if you're in earnest and if what you want is good, then proper prayer will help you in getting it."

Throughout the interview he revealed great love and respect for his parents, particularly for his mother. Yet despite his great appreciation of his mother and his happy childhood relationship to her, he was now quite independent.

"I like living alone and being my own boss, and I like that. I don't have to explain what I do. My mother lives on the North Side and that's why I don't get to see her too often."

His reaction to the army was most revealing of the dynamics by which he developed some internal control of his own life activities. He felt he had had a good break in the army, in which he spent five years, including twenty-seven months in the Pacific as a rifleman. As in the former case, he praised the army because it had forced him to develop independence:

"It made a man of me. I want to repeat that, it made a man out of me. It also taught me to think for myself, and it taught me not to rely on other people."

But in contrast to the attitudes toward discipline expressed by the tolerant man discussed above, this man showed an independence from and even resentment of external control in his statements about army discipline. He particularly resented

"the unnecessary regimentation. At times it was too strict, and at times they didn't treat you as if you were even human, but treated you like machines with their 'do this and do that.'"

Although this man seemed rather self-reliant, with well-developed superego controls and some measure of ego strength, the dependency gratification offered him by the army still seemed exceedingly important to him.

"The biggest thing about the army was that I didn't have any worries about my next meal, and I knew that I'd be taken care of as far as all my needs were concerned."

He accepted governmental institutions and felt that those organizations were most dangerous to society which "defy the government." The economic and political systems were working very well in his estimation, yet he did not feel the individual could influence them one way or the other.

As far as his job was concerned, he was very happy: "I don't have any gripes." By occupation he was a crash fireman at an airport, which he considered a very soft job. He did not even mention its dangerousness.

In summary it may be said that his case was characteristic of the group of fourteen tolerant men who showed some measure of ego strength, although their tolerance was closely related to acceptance of external authority—an acceptance which was combined in their cases with some internalization of controls. However, in contrast to the externally controlled group first described, these men possessed a measure of ego strength.

The reaction of both types of tolerant men showed their need to experience external control as a support before their latent tendencies to develop internalized controls could become manifest. One may speculate as to why these men were able to develop some measure of internalized control and even ego strength, while the first group was unable to do so. Perhaps, it was a result of happy childhood experiences, particularly their good relationships to their parents, combined with the fact that, as children, they had been treated as human beings, able to make decisions for themselves.

For these men it was not enough, apparently, to have had loving parents in order for them to develop adequate internal controls, not to speak of ego strength. It may well have been that their social and economic situation subjected them to overpowering, though ill-defined, political and economic controls which prevented them from developing that feeling of mastery over their own fate which is required for ego strength. To such men the army with its comparatively clear-cut regulations limiting

the number of ways of action and regulating nearly all life activities was a haven of security. For some of them, successful testing of ego strength became possible for the first time. Moreover, their equipment, their personal tasks, and their responsibilities gave many of them a sense of power and accomplishment which civilian life could hardly afford. One man, for example, reports the great feeling of power he experienced in combat when swinging around the turret and firing the gun of a medium tank.

It must have been tremendously gratifying to these men to realize that they bore themselves well under difficult conditions which also allowed them to compare themselves with others in terms of their own most significant values. For example, one man's opinion of himself was materially enhanced when, during a critical battle situation, repairs on his tank became necessary. Without much ado four of the five crew members (including himself) jumped out in the face of enemy fire. The fifth did not follow but remained inside the tank even after he was ordered out. The veteran recounting the experience derived self-respect from the fact that even without having been told, he showed more courage and resourcefulness than the fifth man who, incidentally, was the athlete of the company. For these, and similar reasons, some men said the army made "a man" of them. In like manner, the army permitted them to use such experiences for developing ego strength under conditions where army control no longer seemed entirely externally imposed, but to some degree self-chosen.

Development of ego strength was also aided by the fact that reliable and predictable gratification of the most pervasive biological needs was assured. As psychoanalytic studies of the development of ego strength point out, dependable and ample gratification of physiological needs is necessary in developing internalized controls.

Love alone is not sufficient for a child to develop adequate internal controls, and what has here been designated as ego strength. Parental love may result in an optimistic outlook on life, may promote the conviction that the individual is lovable and will be loved. It may also permit the formation of satisfactory interpersonal relationships. But love alone will not give the individual a sense of permanent security and the feeling that he is able to master successfully the situations he must meet. For that, love must be combined with a conviction that adequate gratification of biological needs such as intake and elimination, rest, motility, warmth, and shelter will always be available. The example given above seems to indicate that parental love prepared the basis for the development of

independence and those self-controls on which it rests. But the controls only reached mature development in the army where gratification of the most primitive needs was assured and where success was experienced under conditions which allowed for comparison with adult peers.

Examples of the intolerant men, on the other hand, show that in their case the personalities they had developed long before entering the army prevented them from internalizing controls. They violently resented the external controls of the army and also tended to run into actual disciplinary difficulties because of their rejection of all controls.⁴ The conclusion may be that only a personality which is so structured by early experiences that internalization of controls is possible can permit the individual to accept external control. The men whose personalities were better integrated were also better able to use the army experience for internalizing controls.

Harsh discipline by parents does not necessarily lead to intolerance if other factors, such as good interpersonal relationships and actual success in life experiences, compensate for it. This may be illustrated by the case of a twenty-eight year old veteran with one year of college education. Both of his parents were born in Italy, but he had been born and brought up in Chicago. The interviewer described him as stocky and of average height; he was very responsive and patient.

He too had an optimistic outlook on life. At the time of the interview, he was tending his own bar, an occupation which he enjoyed because he "liked to meet the crowds" as they came in for drinks.

His upbringing had been strict and submarginal, partly because his parents knew no better and partly because they were poor—but not because they were not fond of him. As he put it, they educated him "with a big stick over my head." Nevertheless, he felt that their disciplinary efforts could not have been too bad, since he and his siblings turned out well enough. He planned, however, to bring up his children quite differently. He intended, he said, to

"give them everything I didn't have. A good education, and I'll see that they have everything that they need. I'll treat them decently. One shouldn't make the child feel that you are the big boss, with a big stick. You have to meet them half-way and use reason."

In this man's family the Catholic religion was quite important and he planned to make it so for his children.

⁴ All of these observations hold true only for the middle, and by far the most common, area of experience. Implementation of army discipline by deviant officers may, of course, have resulted in counterreaction.

While he felt competent on his job and enjoyed it, he felt that reliance on the government, and particularly on the President as a person, was the only way a person could derive security in view of the very difficult political and economic situation. In general, he thought things looked pretty well and that all that was needed was for everybody to

"get behind the President 100 per cent, then everything should be O.K. He knows what he's doing. One person has to think for the country, for the majority at least."

When asked who ought to instigate and execute necessary actions, he replied emphatically, "the President!" When asked who should protect our liberties, and who could do it, he asserted "only the government."

For those who complained, he had no compassion: "They're a pretty poor bunch, these grippers." When asked if the individual had any influence on politics, he answered: "That's not for me to say." On being pressed, he repeated:

"No, I don't think so. The individual can't do anything by himself. It used to be the people, but now it's a clique."

His attitude toward the Jews was consistently tolerant. About the Jews in the army, he said:

"They were O.K. They got along all right. There was no trouble."

When asked if the Jews made good soldiers, he answered:

"These are ticklish questions. They were just as good as any. They were swell fellows, the ones I knew. We had one Jewish officer who used to take my place on Sunday mornings so I could go to Mass."

Then he added:

"You hear so much and as far as I'm concerned, nothing should be done about the Jews. It's all right as it is, they all get the same chance. This country was formed for all."

In summary, it may be said that this man, and five others whose life history and attitudes were similar, managed despite harsh upbringing to develop into citizens who were competent, self-reliant, and independent in their own private spheres. They felt they could control their personal and private affairs, but lacked the confidence to think they could influence the broader aspects of their lives or of society. Control they could accept, and to some measure exercise, because they had been brought up under the control of accepting parents and of the church. The relative

satisfaction they found in their own family lives (the man described was happily married and had a daughter of whom he was very fond), together with the pleasurable contacts they enjoyed with others, more than balanced the frustrations they experienced because of their inability to influence larger social issues, in which, moreover, they were not too interested.

This case was fairly typical for a small group of men who held to the ideals of the lower middle-class businessman. They got along with everyone and found gratification both in their jobs and in their families. To the larger societal issues they were indifferent. But this type of man was comparatively infrequent among the sample.

2. TOLERANT MEN WHOSE CONTROLS WERE INADEQUATE. While the three types described above represent the majority of the tolerant men, there were a few more or less specific constellations of individual reasons for tolerance. All of the seven men in this category shared a pessimistic outlook on life.⁵ Their tolerance may be characterized by the fact that it did not preclude their holding to some unfavorable stereotypes about the Jews.

Among the particular reasons for being tolerant and understanding of an ethnic minority group was, for example, the feeling of having been subject to discrimination by the majority of one's own family, that is, of having oneself been treated as an outcast.

One more or less typical case was that of a twenty-five year old Protestant veteran of high school education who was raised in Chicago. Both parents were born in Lithuania. The interviewer described him as good-looking and friendly, verbose and vague.

His outlook on life was rather pessimistic, thus setting him apart from the majority of the tolerant men. The pervading feature of his attitude toward life was that "everything's all wrong." He complained continuously of the "big shots" who were "running everything" and "didn't give the

⁵ As indicated briefly in Chapter VI, depressive attitudes may be viewed as hostility turned into self criticism (or feelings of guilt), and as such may form another basis for tolerance. That is, with aggressions turned inward, there is no need for the persecution of an outgroup, and the mechanism of projection need not take place; integration is maintained as the ego accepts persecution by the superego instead of fighting it. Frequently too, the guilt feelings of the depressive will look to the outside for additional "punishment." In this sense, some of the men were probably voicing their own needs when they cautioned against sparing the rod in child rearing. Furthermore, to the extent that tolerant men enjoyed (approved) of the rigid if not punitive discipline meted out by parents or other institutions of authority, to that extent they could afford to be tolerant since part of their hostility was directly or vicariously discharged on their own persons. Their hostility was gratified in a way typical for the sadomasochistic personality: by identifying temporarily with the aggressor, in our case the punitive parent or the strict officer.

little guy a chance." If you wanted to get ahead in life, he said "it's like bucking a brick wall." He had great anxiety about the future.

"It's going to be pretty bad. Yes, I think there's going to be another depression. Maybe I'm wrong, but it will be a miracle if we don't. People will be sorry for what they believe. It's a hell of a mess."

Emotionally he was quite unstable, and particularly so since his discharge from the army.

"I'm nervous a lot, now that I'm out of the army. I don't know what it is exactly, but I just feel nervous a lot, and a lot of times I break out in a cold sweat. Like the other night, my wife got real scared because I started perspiring like everything. The pillow and the bed got all wet."

His attitude toward Jews was characterized by statements such as:

"I tell you, there's nothing wrong with the Jews. Naturally, they control a lot of business. On the other hand, a lot of them don't. It's not right to have one nationality that you're against. They're just trying to make a living like anyone else."

He accepted the stereotype of Jewish control of business, an opinion which must have made them obnoxious to him since he hated the "big shots who didn't give the little guy like me a chance." But he controlled himself and qualified his stereotyped statement by saying it was not true for all Jews.

Suggestive of the sources of his controls were his ideas about educating children:

"Well, some people say, always talk to the child and he'll listen, but that doesn't work for most, from what I see. I don't mean that you have to break all the bones in the little child's body, but spank him a little bit and don't forgive the child right away. Like some people spank the child a little, and right away hold him close and say, 'I forgive you.' So the child goes right ahead and does it again. But if you spank him and don't forgive him right then, well, he'll hate you for a little while but he'll get over it. And then he'll mind after that. You do have to use the hand to rule your child, I think."

The main problem of his life was his hatred for and jealousy of his older brother.

"Well, I'll tell you. I had an older brother and when he wanted something, he always got it, but I didn't. They never gave me what I wanted, never gave me the things they gave him. It was always like I was in bad, not exactly neglected, but not handled as good. If I wanted anything, I would have to get it myself. For example, he got a car when he was very young. But when I wanted a car, I had to go to work to get the money for a car. I don't think

that's fair, to do everything for one and nothing for the other. If they're your own, why, treat them equally. Even if one is worse, treat them the same, on an equal basis. If you neglect one, he might turn out better than the other one, anyway, so you can't tell. On the other hand, it might be very bad for the child to be neglected that way. I don't know. But I do know you should treat them equally and fairly."

Thus this man's desire for equal treatment for all originated in the particular set of interpersonal relationships which prevailed in his family and forced him into the position of the helpless and the oppressed. It is possible that he was able to contain his hostility against the Jews, despite his opinion that they control business, because of his hatred for his brother. This hatred was so all-pervasive that all his tensions were discharged into private feud, and no other channel for discharge of hostility, such as minority discrimination, was necessary for him. Of course, this feeling of being an underdog supported his efforts at being objective about a minority, since he felt so strongly that he had been discriminated against as a minority at home. Moreover, his opinions about child rearing, while indicative of his hostility, were also revealing of his general need to control—be it his child, or himself.

Quite different was the pattern of tolerance in a twenty-nine year old veteran of French-Italian parentage who grew up in a small community in Illinois. The interviewer described him as a short man, of pleasing appearance who responded in a patronizing manner. His education had ended after two and a half years of high school.

His outlook, too, was very pessimistic. Everything, he thought, was going to

"turn out bad. I can see the handwriting on the wall. Things are going to turn out worse than we expect. Maybe even you can see the handwriting on the wall."

At another point, he suddenly exclaimed, "But Jesus, I hope we don't have another depression."

About his own children, he declared:

"I'd like to have good, healthy kids. Fight a little, steal a little—I did. No incubator kids for me. If I had a kid and he was thirsty and asked for a drink and he was standing there with his tongue hanging out I wouldn't get one. Too much trouble."

He had always been isolated:

"I've always been a lone wolf, you might say. Familiarity only breeds contempt."

He was very strict with and critical of himself and thought poorly of his own abilities. His attitude toward his father was revealed by the following statement.

"He and Mother were divorced. The family visited him once a week, but not me. My mother still can't understand why I didn't go out to see him, even when he was dying. She and my sisters visited him when he was in the hospital, and often before that time. I didn't see him for five years. My mother said that I'm hard. Well, I am, but that's not the reason. I didn't want to go to see him. It's too much trouble to explain."

His attitude toward the Jews was characterized by statements such as the following:

"I don't have any feeling about Jews. When they're smart, they're smart. Most of them are. They'll do things a white man seldom does—and they get ahead."

One may assume that the "too much trouble to explain" and "Mother said I'm hard, but that's not the reason" show that there were certain strong emotions underlying the man's attitudes. He may have been afraid of being overwhelmed by them and may therefore have had to protect himself by attitudes of coldness and indifference. Thus he must have been a man who possessed strong controls over his emotions. If he had not been so controlled, his feeling about the "smartness of the Jews" combined with his conviction that he was unable to take care of himself might have led to open hostility which would then have placed him in the anti-Semitic group.

If one wished to generalize about the group of men who were tolerant although pessimistic, one might say that, as in the last two examples, their tolerance (as opposed to that of the majority group) was not due to the absence of tension or hostility. They were men who were rather high in hostility, frustration, and isolation, and low in security and ego strength. But they were able to restrain themselves from interethnic hostility although such restraint did not usually originate in ego strength or super-ego control but rather in a particular life history or family constellation.

Within the psychoanalytical frame of reference it may be said that most of the tolerant men with adequate controls succeeded in integrating their hostility. The controls of other tolerant men succeeded in directing the discharge of tensions into other than anti-Semitic channels, such as successful competition in their occupations. The "deviate" tolerant men were not quite so successful in restraining their hostility. It broke through the dams of their controls and revealed itself in occasional stereotyped

statements about the Jews. But as such discharge of hostility became conscious, the controls asserted themselves and intolerant remarks were immediately qualified or retracted.

3. THE STEREOTYPED MEN. The *stereotyped* anti-Semites showed less ability to integrate their hostilities. For most of them, controls were relatively effective in exercising some restraints, or their stereotyped opinions would have led them to develop a higher intensity of intolerance. But they had failed to integrate them. Although stereotyped opinions which should have led to a demand for action were not restrained by controls, no demand for action ensued. The reason for this may either have been that the controls were not strong enough to contain the hostility, or that the tension generating the hostility was too great. Examples may illustrate this analysis.

A typical example of a stereotyped veteran, whose controls were strong enough to block the logical consequence of his opinions was that of a thirty-three year old veteran of Czechoslovakian parentage. He was born and raised in Chicago and had completed two years of high school. The interviewer described him as a handsome, well-built man, quite self-conscious of his own "bad tendencies" but generally secure.

When asked who the "goldbrickers" in the army had been, he replied spontaneously:

"The Jews. A known fact. They used excuses, pain, lies, combat claims, physical disability, everything. Lack of energy and stability, too, so they usually failed on the job. They took all the soft jobs they could get, too. I knew one in Salt Lake City. It didn't bother him. He was proud of getting out into a soft job. They got the soft desk jobs, all of them."

When asked what should be done about them, he said:

"Why do anything? We haven't before. Why should we now? Just let them live like anybody else."

This man continually depreciated himself; he saw himself as the black sheep of the family. Whenever he made critical remarks about people in general, he always included himself.

"Greed is what interferes with our having a decent life. Everybody's greedy. That's too bad. We're all greedy; that's the problem."

Of the veterans, he said: "We all expect too much now," and he repeated several times that the veterans, including himself, made unreasonable demands and should not be given special consideration. He did

not feel that the individual could influence politics or the economic system. ("He has no influence, none whatever.")

All of his conscious life he had felt very guilty. As a child he had been "a very bad boy." At five, he set fire to his parents' home and he connected his misdeed with their death which was unrelated to it, but occurred a short time later. After their death he was brought up in a Catholic orphanage where he formed his notions of education.

"The right way to bring up children is to bring them up in the fear of God. I was the black sheep of my family; that's why I would be sure to trip up any kid of mine that was like me. Education isn't as strict these days as it should be. Parents aren't as good as our parents were. They followed the rules more strictly. They used more discipline and you have to use it, too. It's a good idea. After my parents died, I knew the discipline of the orphanage. This discipline was very good for me. In order to make children behave, stop them off the bat. I mean, correct it right away. Discipline them. My parents didn't spare the rod and I think that I won't either."

He approved strongly of the moral teachings of the Catholic religion. "Religion was life itself in our family." He also described army discipline as necessary and good.

In order to understand the general pessimistic attitude of most of the anti-Semites, their frustrations, their hopes, and the gratifications they desired, this man's statement may be quoted for its evidence of the craving for primitive gratification. He was asked whether there was anything about army life which he now missed and his answer was:

"The food. We got the best food out there. We could sleep late, we always knew we'd be taken care of, no matter what you did. Your room and board was free and you had no worries. You had security and relaxation because when your work was finished, you were free. There was no clock to punch."

Here, a potentially outspoken anti-Semite (as indicated by his derogation of Jews in the army) restrained himself to a milder form of anti-Semitism because his guilt prevented him from demanding discriminatory action. Since childhood it had been impressed on him that hostile impulses are dangerous if they are permitted to express themselves in hostile actions. Therefore he submitted to rigid control, as may be seen from his statements about discipline.

The strength of their controls prevented most stereotyped anti-Semites from asking for discriminatory actions against the Jews. This is further illustrated by the statements of a twenty-one year old veteran of German-

Scotch parentage who was born and raised in Chicago. His denomination was Presbyterian but religion was not very important in the family.

The interviewer described him as a slight, boyish, and pleasant-looking man who was very obliging. His remarks showed a clear ambivalence toward the Jews. They also demonstrated that his hostility pressed for discharge but was contained by his controls as soon as his aggressive feelings become conscious.

"The Jews always seem to have a name for going somewhere, they're go-getters. I don't know how, but they get there. In a lot of cases, the Jews use a lot of underhanded methods. They're always blamed for it, then I feel sorry for that. The Jews don't get along with anybody but themselves. Well, the way they have of getting places irks me most. I wouldn't care to have them use underhanded ways to push me out. As individuals, they have a right to take a job."

With each derogatory statement about Jews, his controls forced him to protest the accusations as somehow unjust.

The role which discipline played in his upbringing may be indicated by his statement about his own education and by his ideas about child rearing.

"Well, my father never spared the rod but I don't know if this new modern way would work. I think I'd bring up my children the way my parents brought me up. Definitely not by bribing. I think it best to make them pay for wrongs they've done. That's probably against modern methods, but I think the old ways worked. There are many spoiled brats from families where the mothers have read too many books on modern methods. Well, we at home had a stick about four inches wide and half an inch thick, that hung on a nail on the back door. When one of us stepped out of line we had to go and get the stick and take a licking with my two brothers present. It scared us pretty much. It really worked. I think it was the right way. I don't regret it now. I like my folks just as well as if they hadn't punished me this way. When I was young, I thought it was wrong, but I'm pleased now. My brothers are, too."

He was able to accept this harsh parental discipline and also to internalize it in some measure because mutual love was an important feature of his relationship to the disciplining parent; this permitted identification with the parent and acceptance of his discipline.

"My father was never mean. He was the harsh disciplinarian but he was a pretty happy-go-lucky man. You realize things like that when you're older."

The manner in which superego control prevented a man from advocating discriminatory action despite his stereotyped opinions about the Jews was further illustrated by a thirty-three year old man of British

descent, who was brought up in Chicago. The interviewer described him as a short, slender man who spoke in a compulsive and almost oratorical fashion.

Although he had only had a high school education he was very ambitious, intellectually—one of the few men who had decided on a career. He wanted to become an artist. This desire led him to embrace opinions and to develop attitudes which he considered to be those of the well-educated person.

His open ambivalence, indicative of underlying hostility against the Jews, was barely contained by his rational efforts as may be seen from the following quotation:

"There should be no discrimination just because a man is a Jew. He's a member of the white race. He's of the Semitic branch and we're the Caucasians. But I don't want any business dealings with a Jew. He has an inherent something in him that will always cause him to win, but I have no prejudice because of that. Much of the problem is due to the individual Jew. The cultured, refined Jew doesn't see what the kike is doing for his race. The kikes do a great deal of harm. They're overdressed, noisy, and loud."

About the Jews in the army, he said:

"The Jewish boys were all right. We didn't say a lot to their face unless they were ignorant fellows without manners. They're peculiar people. Some have had traits that came out in different ways. One of the Jewish soldiers was a kike but I don't care for the kike part in Gentiles either; some of them may also be loud-mouthed and overassertive. Some Jews can't help their gestures and the way they talk. Lot of them tried to get out of combat outfits and tried to stay in the States. They call quartermasters the Jewish infantry but if he'd been in the clothing business before, he was better in the quartermaster than he would be any other place, and probably better than someone who hadn't been in that business."

He felt that the Jews should be let alone, although

"they control a lot of business but I don't think we'll have a Jewish ascendancy."

When asked how the Jews should be dealt with, he summed up his attitude:

"If we discriminate against different groups, then we'll have to change what's at the foot of the Statue of Liberty."

His upbringing had been relatively strict:

"I was raised strictly enough. Discipline was important in my family. Mother taught me to divide my toys and also to have respect for my elders. I was

taught how to eat properly. Mother didn't want to have oranges every morning, but we did so I would learn to use an orange spoon. Supper was extremely formal with a complete set of silver, different forks and spoons so I would learn how to use them. I thought everybody had been trained the same way until I was about seventeen or eighteen years old. I was very carefully trained to read because Mother had been a school teacher. If children aren't trained more properly, they'll become delinquent morally and it'll be the downfall of the country."

Another example may illustrate the degree to which the strength of his controls prevented even a bold and adventurous veteran who held many stereotyped anti-Semitic views from expressing himself with outspoken or intense hostility. He was nineteen years old, of Polish descent, had been born and raised in Chicago, and had just reenlisted in the army. In response to the question of whether Gentiles should receive job preference, he replied:

"No. If the job has anything to do with business, the Gentiles aren't as gifted as the Jewish."

Then he burst out:

"That's a peculiar question to ask, and I refuse to give an answer."

When asked why, he said

"I refuse to give an answer to that one also. About two weeks ago, in all the theaters in the neighborhood, they had something called Brotherhood Week. It actually made me sick."

At another point, he said: "The Jews own most of the country. State Street anyway." Nevertheless, at no point in the interview did he ask for any restrictions of Jews.

His view of civilian life was very negativistic. His experiences in the service he had enjoyed very much. There he "found something very exciting, terrifying." At the time of discharge he had planned to go to school.

"I got out some of my old school books but then I knew I could never stand it. I want something more exciting. I like nothing about civilian life. That's the reason I decided to reenlist in the army. I couldn't stand just working and going to bed at night. It was deadly. I nearly went crazy before I reenlisted. What this country needs is more discipline, like the discipline in the army. But even in the army discipline wasn't strict enough."

Generally, he complained about lack of discipline:

"Here, it's disgraceful, the way things are done in Chicago. There's no discipline whatsoever. They're far too lax and it's a disgrace. I like the English

army much better because it's much stricter. I sometimes felt that Germany was progressive in a way and on the right way, and was building up a beautiful country. They only went too far."

It seemed to him that

"the children back here are disgusting. They're softies and they're given entirely too much freedom. They're not brought up right. I was also not brought up the right way. Mother babied me too much. I wouldn't want my wife to do that to my child. My mother was good to me, but she did everything for me and that spoiled me. It made me too dependent. I got out of it. The army's good for that, as long as one doesn't yield to its sordid atmosphere. You should be fair to your child but you should make him obey. I always did what I was told."

He was also full of suspicions:

"There are a lot of very harmful organizations. Our enemy had a network of spies in 1939 and 1940 and the same is true now. You probably read about the young lieutenant who was caught stealing the details of the atomic bomb. We're too lenient with the Russians."

In more than one way, this man had the leanings of a fascist follower. But his desire for discipline kept his anti-Semitism within the limits of stereotyped opinions. It was as if he sensed that his desire for excitement and adventure might easily land him in difficulties, and from these the rigid external control of the army seemed to offer protection. It is not difficult to speculate about what the attitude of such a man might be if external controls, instead of quietly condoning and officially disapproving of anti-Semitism, should openly approve.

In general, it may be said of the stereotyped anti-Semites that it was the relative presence of their controls more than anything else which prevented them from taking a more outspoken and discriminatory stand on what they considered the Jewish problem.

4. THE OUTSPOKEN ANTI-SEMITES WHO POSSESSED SOME MEASURE OF CONTROL. The stereotyped anti-Semites stood midway between the tolerant men and the *outspoken anti-Semites*, because their controls were less adequate for containing anti-Semitism than those of the tolerant men, but more adequate than those of the outspoken anti-Semites. Similarly it might be said that the minority of the outspoken anti-Semites (seventeen men), who possessed some measure of control, formed a group whose position on anti-Semitism was somewhere between that of the stereotyped and that of the majority of the outspoken anti-Semites who were more markedly characterized by the inadequacy of their controls.

The two outspoken anti-Semites whose controls were adequate were both unique cases. One of the two, for example, was a very recent immigrant to the United States. He came to America after the start of the war in Europe and transferred to this new country attitudes which really belonged to his previous environment. His controls seemed in process of adaptation to the new setting, and it was probable that as he grew into the pattern of this country they would become more effective; eventually, they might become strong enough to restrain his anti-Semitism to such a degree that he would then fall into the category of stereotyped anti-Semites. Equally unusual reasons accounted for the second case of this type, so that neither of them seem in need of further discussion in a study not mainly concerned with the behavior of exceptional cases.

The following excerpts from one of the interviews may illustrate those characteristics which were typical of men who, in spite of intermediate controls, were nevertheless outspoken in their anti-Semitism.

It is the case of a twenty-three year old man whose father was of American stock, and whose mother had been born in Austria. He himself was born and raised in Chicago where he went through grade school and high school. The interviewer described him as a tall, thin, well-built man; his personality was pleasant and he seemed friendly and humorous.

In his demands for restrictions against Jews he was quite outspoken. Gentiles, he felt should be given preference on jobs:

"Take the Jewish race. Financially they're better off than the Gentiles. I believe that we should let the Gentiles get to where the Jewish is today, and in that way we'll be on an equal basis. The Jews made good soldiers, as good a soldier as the Gentile, but only when there wasn't a group of them together, or not too many in one group. Four or five in a company was all right, but if there was twenty in a company they'd stay together and not mingle with the other men. Nevertheless, we got along all right. We had no trouble, but I do think that the Jews should be held down and not given too much power. The biggest percentage of merchants are Jews, and that's why prices should be held down, so they won't get an abundance of money."

On the other hand:

"I don't think that the Jews should be forced to leave the country. After all, most of them have established themselves as citizens, and as long as they stick to the law and have their citizenship papers, they shouldn't be forced to leave."

He was also unopposed to intermarriage, nor did he object to working with Jews. He did, however, object to the idea that a Jew might live next door to him:

"They more or less have their own sections. I'm from an Irish neighborhood. I'm Irish and I'm used to Irish neighbors."

Thus, although he was quite outspoken in his discriminatory statements about the Jews, a modicum of rational control was still operative.

His outlook on life was rather optimistic. The future, he thought, looked bright, at least for him. "The condition in this country is a lot better than it was before the war." As he saw it, the individual could exercise some influence on politics.

"I guess that most everyone has an influence on politics, down to the last person. Of course one person can influence things only a little bit."

His general acceptance of existing society was epitomized by his statement that the government was run by "intelligent people."

"They had to be, by the way they handled the country and the situation we've just been through."

His upbringing had been strict on the part of his father, affectionate on the part of his mother:

"My dad used the cat o' nine tails. Yes, he really did. But I believe that reasoning with children is lots better than getting rough with them. Mother reasoned with us, and through that way she could teach us things. You always have respect for your mother, and whatever she tells you, you listen to her. Father used force, and then mother would reason with us and tell us what was wrong. I didn't like my father using force, but today I can appreciate that what he did has probably had a good effect.

"I believe I was brought up the right way—just don't go too far in using force—then it's all right. A good crack won't hurt any kid. After I got a good one, it put me in line for about a week."

His attitude toward discipline was ambivalent. He rejected as too harsh the discipline of his father, but admitted that some discipline might be needed and have beneficial effects. His position on army discipline was halfway between rejection and acceptance. Army discipline was "in some cases too strict, but only in some cases."

Here was a man whose hostility was not too intense. He could, moreover, accept some external control and his upbringing had probably led him to integrate some of it. Therefore, although he readily permitted himself to voice stereotyped criticism of the Jews and although he even asked for some discriminatory legislation, his anti-Semitism was, nevertheless, tempered by controls.

5. THE OUTSPOKEN ANTI-SEMITES WHOSE CONTROLS WERE INADEQUATE. The controls of twenty-four of the outspoken anti-Semites were quite in-

adequate for restraining anti-Semitism, and the interview records showed no attempt on their part to qualify derogatory statements about the Jews. On the contrary, their remarks often became more violent, the longer they talked. It was as if their inadequate controls, once pierced by unfavorable statements about Jews, led to more unfavorable associative material and finally gave way under the added pressure of hostility aroused by such associations.

Typical for the attitudes of this group were those of a twenty-five year old Protestant, of native-born parentage who had been born and raised in Chicago. This man had had two years of high school education and was described by the interviewer as a short, heavy-set man of flashy appearance. His behavior during the interview revealed his aggressiveness. Looking through a book which the interviewer left lying on the table, he found a personal letter, which he provocatively started to read, obviously testing the interviewer's patience. When she failed to react, he dropped this tactic.

His attitude toward the Jews was characterized by statements such as the following:

"As for the Jews, run them out of business because they already control most of the business in the United States. Or make them work as anybody else. In the army there were no Jews in our outfit, but when we were inducted I know the Jews angled around and got out of it. When they were in, they always got the best jobs. Send the Jews back where they came from because they don't get along over here. All the people are against them because of how they do business and control most business."

He objected to a Jew moving in next door to his residence:

"They aren't liked, the way they act and do business. They lower neighborhoods, keep things pretty dirty."

He was unwilling to have a Jew work on the same job "because they would probably knock me out of my job."

It was obvious that his attitude toward the Jews was closely connected with his great insecurity about his abilities and with his anxiety about his future. He felt sure that things

"are going to turn out pretty lousy. Everything's going to be bad, and going to be worse. Nothing is being done for the veteran beside all the talking. The ordinary individual has no influence on politics, none at all. If a depression should come it would hit me hard, harder than most others, I guess. It'll be very bad."

He had been brought up "the old-fashioned way." But contrary to the reaction of most tolerant men, he resented his childhood experiences as having been "far too strict." He felt that his parents punished him far too often, though he later admitted that he was punished only rarely. Although religion had been very important in his home, he had little use for it; even in the army he went to church less frequently than he had before that time.

Both the high degree of his hostility and the absence of any desire or ability to control it were revealed by statements such as the following which he made spontaneously when discussing the Negroes in the army. He had been speaking of Negroes dancing with white girls in Europe and related that on one occasion this had led to an argument between a white and a Negro soldier. The Negro made some disparaging remarks without threatening the other physically. At that:

"The white guy shot the Negro right there—killed him. He didn't even get court-martialed for it. He got off clean, and that's O.K. That's how it should be all over the place."

He liked his life in the army, although he disliked army discipline. Since his discharge he particularly missed his "jeep and all the girls." When asked who gained because of the war, he answered, with a broad smile:

"Hum, the French girls gained a lot. I like the girls over there in France and those in Germany. I like them all. Girls are girls."

This man hated army discipline (and all other types of discipline, including parental and governmental control) but liked his army experience for the sexual freedom and the outlet for aggressions which it provided. His strong hostilities were barely controlled and he harbored great anxieties about his economic future and private affairs. Moreover, he felt that the government provided no security since it consisted of "nothing but crooks."

Another outspoken anti-Semite who showed more or less the same pattern of psychological attributes was a thirty year old man of Bulgarian extraction. He was born on a farm in Ohio. This man was described by the interviewer as a short, very thin man who was shabbily clothed. He felt insecure about everything, including his relationship to the interviewer, whom he accused of wanting to put something over on him. When she reassured him, he said: "It's always the smoothest talkers that take you in." His opinions about the Jews were:

"They don't work or fight. I'd always give preference to a non-Jew. In the army the Jews weren't treated very nice. There was always a grudge, the Jews against the Gentiles. There was a grudge against the Jew because of his being intelligent and getting ahead faster. The Jews always held down good jobs and good ratings, and the boys disliked them for that. They made good clerks. As field soldiers, no. They don't fall into the routine, they were bad combat soldiers because they'd never stick. To their face we seemed to get along with them, but behind their backs we raised Cain. There are too many of the Jews around here now. They should never have allowed so many in here. Their population is too great. You can't chase them out—then we'd be another Hitler. We should close immigration to them. They're producing so fast that we'll have trouble with them here, a great deal. There's no place to send them. They're not even wanted in Palestine."

When asked about questions of policy toward Jews he answered:

"I'd object against a Jew moving next door. They raise too much stink and too much commotion. The low Jews are filthy, and the higher class always think that you're doing wrong. Those who own stores on Milwaukee Avenue are filthy, and you should see the alleys behind the stores—they're terrible. I wouldn't want to work with a Jew because he wouldn't want to do the manual labor. He wouldn't share the work. I just can't get along with them. I can't get accustomed to the way they do things—they always want to take advantage."

His insecurity about his own future and that of the country was revealed by remarks such as the following:

"People are too unsettled. Everything in general is unsettled. Things will slide downhill right into a depression. As a matter of fact we have a depression right now. Thirty-three per cent of the people in Chicago aren't employed, including the veterans.⁶

"People like me will starve. We don't have the education or the money to exist."

Not enough was being done for the veterans, in his opinion; there, too, he felt that everybody was taking advantage of him and other veterans.

"There are a million in Chicago that have made a million off the veterans. Look at me, for example. I wanted to go to school, and a high-pressured salesman came by the house here one evening and sold me a course on electricity, which isn't in my line at all, and now I'm stuck. That's how you get gypped on anything."

He was as dissatisfied with the world as he was dissatisfied with himself:

"No party is any good now. The ordinary people don't have a chance. There are too many ways of holding them down."

and:

⁶ This statement was made at a time when unemployment in Chicago was extremely low.

"Just now I'm taking a course in electricity. The course is no good. They push you through too fast and the person with a low education like me can't understand what it's all about. They have one teacher for about forty people. They don't explain things to you, just tell you to figure out the problem yourself. I spent about five hours last night trying to figure the problems out and I can't. I'm on problem four and the class is on problem eleven, so you can see how I'm getting along. When I ask for help they tell me to figure it out myself. If I were out on a job I wouldn't be able to ask people how to do things. I get very discouraged."

All he hoped for in the future was that he might eventually earn \$3,000 a year, but he felt that the chances for that were slim:

"I don't think I'll ever work on a job that pays that much. I don't have much education and I don't know the right people."

His childhood recollections were unpleasant:

"I had to work too much and that was a hindrance to my education. My parents were too strict. I got shoved in a corner; I had hard discipline, and got hit around. I lost faith in my parents because they didn't treat me right, although I admit I deserved most of it."

About religion he said: "There are foxhole atheists. In fact, I'm sitting here." The only thing about the army he liked was "the uniform and the discipline."

One of his biggest gripes was that most of his friends had married and were being prevented by their wives from spending time with him.

The asocial attitudes of some of the outspoken anti-Semites may be indicated by the statements of a twenty-four year old man whose father was of American stock and his mother, German-born. He had had two and a half years of high school education and was described by the interviewer as a handsome young man, about six feet tall. He sneered throughout most of the interview, and seldom gave precise answers.

Characteristic of the explosiveness of his reactions were statements such as the following:

"If they don't do enough for the veterans, they're going to start shooting. They've put up with enough. They better see to it that the veterans get along all right or there'll be plenty of trouble."

He was not only afraid of the Communists, but also of the British:

"People would like to have us fight for the British. If people start shooting the Jews, the Jews will have us in another war."

When speaking of army officers, he said:

"The soldiers didn't have no use for them. They'd just as soon shoot them as the Japs."

In referring to the Jews he was one of the very few who used the term "Yid." But anti-Semitic though he was, he still made occasional qualifying remarks which showed that a minimum of control was exercising some restraint and was pressing for rational elaboration of hostile statements.

"There are different kinds of Jews. There were some who were obnoxious, but there were some who got along as one of the crowd. It's hard to say what the Jew really is."

The best way to influence politics, he said, is to "get a gun." His outlook on life was very pessimistic and asocial:

"Things are bad and are going to be worse. Me? All I ask is to be left strictly alone."

When talking about a depression and unemployment, he was certain that it would come, and with it, an outbreak of violence.

He was unwilling to discuss his own childhood recollections or how children should be brought up. This was probably indicative of his hostility against his parents, as was his desire for isolation.

"Kids? No one in his right mind would have any. I can't understand how anybody would like to have any of them."

He had always been lonely, never associated with others, never went around with the gang.

"I sure am a lone wolf. All I want is to live in a cabin in the woods, all by myself, and see nobody all year long."

His hostility and isolation were epitomized by his recollection of his own outfit as a place where "everybody hated everybody."

Nevertheless, this man had some insight into the mechanisms which accounted for his own ethnic hostility, although the pressure of his hostility was so great that he could not act in terms of this insight. When speaking of the Japanese-Americans, he said:

"The Japanese will never get rid of their slant eyes. That makes them stand out. It makes them a target for all kinds of prejudice. Everyone has prejudices. *You just have to have something to aim at.*"

These examples of outspoken anti-Semites, even the last one, show that they possessed some, even if inadequate, controls.

A final case may illustrate those few extreme outspoken anti-Semites who rejected almost all discipline and authority. A thirty-five year old man of Italian parentage, born and raised in Chicago, exemplified the type of outspoken anti-Semite whose controls were entirely inadequate. In addition to those psychological attributes which he had in common with other outspoken anti-Semites, he was also characterized by strong feelings of persecution.

The interviewer described him as a stout man who became very angry and shouted during the interview; so much so at one point, that he stopped himself for fear the neighbors would think there was "a madman in the house and call the police." His case was of additional interest because he was one of the few men who specifically asked for a third political party. His attitudes toward Jews were characterized by such statements as:

"Jews have all the money and they all stick together. They'll never work in a factory.

"The Jews in the army got away with everything. They all had jobs in the rear. The Gentiles did all the fighting.

"Send them all back to Palestine. All they're after is money. The Jews should be forced to leave the country."

He was afraid things were going to turn out very badly for the country in general and for the veterans in particular.

"Nothing's being done for the veterans. Employers don't give a rap for them. From the White House down to the greedy capitalists, everybody's against the veterans. They were all right when they were in uniform but now nobody cares. Nobody's fair to the veterans, though they enlisted to help the country. A friend of mine told me the other day that the people in Germany treated him better than he's been treated since he came back to this country. The people don't have any influence on politics. Nothing is done by the people or for the people. All is done for the politician. Roosevelt should have been impeached before Pearl Harbor. There are nothing but crooks in Washington."

He was against both parties and all in favor of a third party.

"Put the whole old parties in a washing machine and run the whole thing through the wringer. I don't think there's an American in the White House. Even the English imperialists run the F.B.I. The country's going to the dogs. What we need is to get some real Americans in the White House. Everyone seems to want to give our country away. Only if the English and the Com-

munists would get out of the White House and let old-fashioned Americans in there, then somebody could get in who'll be for the American people, people that'll pull for this country. We haven't had such for a long time. And I don't mean the Republicans, either. But chances for that are very slim. When I was in contact with the Italians I heard the story of Mussolini. Roosevelt and Churchill are just the same as he was. We need a third party. The third party is the only solution."

His fears about his own future were great, particularly that unemployment would hit him very hard. He felt sure he would have to go on relief. All his life he had had nothing but bad breaks: "The international bankers are the reason for our miseries."

All he wanted was to make \$3,000 a year, but he felt that the chances for even this were very bad, unless, for once, he got "a lucky break."

In his opinion, army discipline had been unreasonably strict:

"The higher-ups had far too much authority. They could railroad a fellow like nobody's business, if they didn't like him."

At this point it may be stressed that a steady increase in hostility and a steady decline in the adequacy of controls could be observed as one moved from the least intolerant to the most intolerant men. But all were subject to some controls. These controls formed a continuum from adequate to inadequate as the degree of anti-Semitism increased. But they also formed another continuum, although it was not quite so clear-cut. It was the continuum from internalized to external control; from ego control, to superego control, to willingly accepted external control, to external control under grudging submission, and finally to controls which were so inadequate that they could only assert themselves occasionally and ineffectually.

The last group in the continuum of tolerance to intolerance, that is, the intense anti-Semites, fell beyond this continuum of controls. Their controls were not so much inadequate or external, as they were absent, so far as the restraining of interethnic hostility was concerned.

6. THE INTENSE ANTI-SEMITES. The group of six *intense anti-Semites* was characterized by low security, high hostility, high frustration, and social isolation. Nowhere in the interview could an assertion of control over interethnic hostility be observed.

In addition, these men were all characterized by strong feelings of persecution as in the case of those outspoken anti-Semites whose controls seemed entirely inadequate.

However, as irrational as were some of the statements made by intense

anti-Semites, the men were not totally without control, or they could never have maintained themselves in society. The question then arose of why control was so lacking in the case of ethnic hostility. The following hypothesis may account for this phenomenon, with the feeling of persecution by an ethnic minority as a necessary clue.

As regarded ethnic hostility (and perhaps other areas of interpersonal contacts) the intense anti-Semite had externalized controls by the mechanism of projection.⁷ The price he paid for thus freeing himself of restraint by his own controls was to feel persecuted by the minority and this minority was now the vicarious carrier of his control over ethnic hostility. But while he felt controlled by the members of the hated outgroup, he could now give free reign to ethnic hostility which was no longer held in check.

A twenty-six year old veteran may serve as an example for the group of six intense anti-Semites. He completed two years of high school education, was of Czechoslovakian parentage and had been born and reared in Chicago. The interviewer described him as a good-looking, well-built man who spoke with a decided lisp. Throughout the interview he maintained a flippant but suspicious attitude.

His hostility against the Jews may be characterized by the many spontaneous statements he made about them. For instance, when asked whether there were any groups of people who might be harmful to the country, he replied:

"Well, the nigger. They're getting a lot out of hand. And then the Jews. They should run all the Jews out of the country. On jobs, Gentiles should always get preference. Well, most of the Jewish people have all the factories, so the white people are working for them. You don't see Jews working. Another thing, how about this Jewish boat that came across—what was it?—with fifty thousand of them. Why are they bringing them in here? They just persecute us Gentiles."

When asked what he hated about the army he said:

"What I hated most?—the officers, especially the Jewish ones. I just love the Jews—I'd like to hang them all up."

Referring specifically to the Jews in the army he said:

"They were treated like kings. They got away with more stuff than we did. They were poor soldiers. They haven't got the fighting ability. The best thing would be to get rid of them, export them. Well, if they'd move all the Jews out, I've reasoned it out—if they moved them all out, there'd be no more wars."

⁷ For a detailed discussion of this mechanism, see Chapter VIII.

His animosity against other ethnic groups was equally strong. For instance he felt that the best thing to do with Japan would be to sink the islands and thus kill all Japanese.

He was extremely fearful about the future and felt certain that things would turn out very badly. His anticipation of unemployment was full of aggression and anxiety. He was sure he would "starve to death."

"We'll have a lot of unemployment and a lot of crime. Why shouldn't there be? We learned a lot of tricks, how to handle a gun, and we'll use them."

He was convinced that all political parties consisted only of crooks. One should "do away with all of them." The government was "all against the people."

Recollections of his childhood were pleasant but he planned to bring children up much more harshly.

"Children nowadays get away with too much. Well, if you can't talk to them, then tan their hides for them. Of course, I'm going to do that.

"My parents were too good, but I never have done much wrong. I was just naturally a good kid. My parents never had any trouble with me. Well, my next to the youngest brother, he wasn't so good, he always got the spanking, but it sure was good for him."

In summarizing the impression received from all interviews, and not solely from the excerpts above, it may be said that no final understanding of the group is possible on the basis of the association between relative strength of controls, relative degree of hostility, and anti-Semitism. The intention was primarily to show the general relationship between these psychological attributes. This underlying relationship remained the same when the anti-Negro attitudes of the group were examined, but in that case the group as a whole appeared much more hostile and far more intolerant. In the case of the Negroes, controls gave way much more readily, as will be shown in the following chapter.

It has already been stated that the analysis of controls as it relates to interethnic hostility is twofold. The adequacy of controls of some individuals for restraining interethnic hostility has now been discussed. The reasons for which some individuals select interethnic hostility as a channel for discharging hostility remains to be analyzed. This question may be discussed in connection with the related problem of why controls asserted themselves so much less vigorously with regard to one type of interethnic hostility, anti-Negro feeling, as compared with another type of interethnic hostility, anti-Semitism.

CHAPTER VIII

CONDONING INTOLERANCE: ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

The relationship between control and tolerance was established in the preceding chapter. There, analysis indicated that, for the majority of those studied, tolerance was coexistent with an acceptance of external control; tolerance as a consequence of strong internalized controls was the rare exception. To further test the validity of these findings, anti-Negro attitudes were analyzed in a similar manner. Such analysis was particularly relevant in view of the fact that anti-Negro attitudes enjoy greater acceptance, both socially and legally, than almost any other form of ethnic intolerance.

Here it should be emphasized that controls are internalized only if the individual has erected barriers *within himself* against discharging tension in aggressive behavior—barriers which function adequately under almost all circumstances except those of self-defense. Such controls, once established, are relatively independent of prevailing mores and of who the object of aggression may be.

As pointed out in Chapter VII, the adequacy of a person's controls not only reflects the impact of controlling institutions, but also determines the degree of his hostilities. Thus a man may have developed strong and internalized controls precisely because his hostilities are over-powerful. Such a person may be tolerant, but he is not the most desirable member of a society striving for greater tolerance. He remains a deviate whose vital energies are spent not in constructive social action but in a personal battle with his own unintegrated hostility.¹

¹ The example of the extreme pacifist seems to support this contention. The conscientious objector is a man whose conscience objects even to socially approved hostility. He obviously fears disapproval by his own controls more than condemnation by the rest of the citizenry, because the power of his own controls is stronger motivating forces than those exercised by society. In his case, temporary or even permanent societal attitudes toward aggression cannot influence his personal behavior. Conscientious objectors are usually characterized not only by their rejection of war-time aggression, but also by a consistent rejection of ethnic intolerance. Since aggression itself is prohibited by their controls, their attitudes of tolerance do not falter or

While fully internalized controls function relatively independent of the changing social picture, persons whose tolerance is due less to internal than to external controls, show significant differences in their attitudes. These differences depend chiefly on whether the external controlling institutions prohibit, disapprove, condone, or even approve of intolerance against a particular group. It is common knowledge that the institutional patterns and the informal mores of the community differ sharply for the Negro and the Jew. Imputed racial differences also affect the status and treatment of the Negro to a greater extent than they do those of the Jew. This was particularly true among members of the sample, as was indicated by many statements to the effect that the Jew was "white after all," or that there was "no racial difference" between Jew and Gentile. Social scientists may agree on the fallacy of thinking in racial terms. But a scientific study of interethnic hostility cannot overlook present day thinking in terms of "race" because of its widespread influence on attitudes and behavior.

Popular attitudes toward ethnic groups are based on a type of thinking which can neither be understood nor analyzed when it is conceived as being similar to that of the social scientist. For instance, the concept of

vary when confronted with different ethnic groups, even if society directs various degrees, or types, of hostility against one or the other of these groups.

Psychoanalytical study of some conscientious objectors has revealed that the unusual strength of controls which prohibited them from any discharge of hostility against other human beings was not a matter of rational conviction but a vitally needed defense against the fear of total disintegration. Their unconscious hatred of man originated in their hatred of some of the most significant figures of their family and was so overwhelming that they dreaded the consequences of discharging even the smallest amount of hostility against anyone. They behaved as though any lapse in control might lead to a total and uncontrollable discharge of hostility, including discharge against the original source and object of hatred—their parents or siblings. In one case, conscientious objection was traced to the fear that bearing arms on a home visit might accidentally lead to the killing of a particular member of the family. The only way to avoid such danger, this C.O. felt, was under no circumstances to touch any weapon, even if such behavior led to the most far-reaching consequences. One might add, of course, that no imagined consequences could possibly have been as far-reaching as the feared patricide.

Frequently it is the argument of the brotherhood of men which is put forward by pacifists. They feel they must avoid wartime service because to them it implies not only the killing of human beings, but fratricide. This fear of doing violence to a brother figure is likely to be a reaction-formation born of an animosity toward close relations.

Individuals who find no basis in their own feelings for fearing potential fratricide can more readily permit themselves to discharge aggression into socially approved outlets. They have fewer doubts about their ability to control aggressive tendencies. They can view the opposing soldier either as an enemy, or as a potentially lovable human being who is as unfortunate as they are in having to bear arms and to fight a war.

"race" has to the unsophisticated person a wealth of emotional connotations which relate it far more closely to mythical (magical) thinking than to reason. The "inscrutable" Chinese seems so uncanny, so alien, that the feeling of foreignness blocks most attempts at the real contacts differentiated from mere propinquity,—which might reduce differences to a comparable and an understandable level.

Similarly, it appears that German propagandists, in order to make the German people (or a sizable segment of it) accept genocide, had to employ the notion of racial differences, of the inferiority of the Jewish "race" and the danger that it might contaminate the "superior" German race. That genocide, where it was accepted, was approved of only on racial grounds is indicated by the fact that before the large-scale extermination of Polish and Russian people was launched, the idea of their racial difference and inferiority had first to be propagated with great vigor.

Why, in the twentieth century, the racial idea was selected by various authoritarian governments as a central idea for arousing masses is a critical question. Recently, progressively larger groups have come to constitute ingroups. Historical development in the western world from the tribe, to the city-state, to the small country, and finally to the national state has led in the last century to the consolidation of empires on a national and multinational basis. Under the impact of modern technology which required larger and larger areas for effective economic organization as well as the earlier spread of common cultural and religious values, the recognition of "sameness" was gradually extended beyond national barriers. In most recent times there have developed alongside of nationalistic attitudes a number of ideological identifications which have further loosened national boundaries and are being used to extend the power of major nations—for example, communism and aryanism. If this process were to continue, extranational units based on common ideologies would eventually replace nations as the ingroups.²

One of the tests which permits one to determine who is a member of the ingroup is that of marital custom. If, for instance, one tries to understand "race" as it is generally conceived, no other single criterion seems equally as suitable as the taboo on intermarriage. Both in the law and in the mores some of the strongest taboos have been those against intermarriage between "races." In questions of exogamy it is

² The current and violent revival of nationalism in certain European countries may frequently be viewed as a defensive reaction against the explicit threat of outside aggression and the implicit realization of the passing of national identity.

consensus alone which determines who belongs to a different race. To the Germans, the Jews were exogamous—a dangerous alien “race” with whom one ought not to cohabit. (The first and most far-reaching anti-Jewish laws in Germany had for their central topic the problem of intermarriage.) In the United States, the Jews, though not particularly sought after as marriage partners, are nevertheless in the main accepted as “endogamous,” while intermarriage between whites and Negroes is still rejected as “exogamous.”³

In view of the prevalence of anti-Negro attitudes it was expected that those men whose control of aggression depended on the influence of external factors would follow the patterns set by controlling institutions with regard to their own attitudes toward Negroes, and hence be intolerant. On the other hand it was assumed that those subjects whose controls against aggression were truly internalized would be tolerant regardless of the mores of the community. But the nature of his controls is not the only determining factor of an individual's intolerance. It was also expected that whether or not a person's anti-Negro feelings transcended those of his community would depend on the degree of his personal feelings of deprivation and anxiety. In view of the prevailing attitude towards Negroes among the group from which the sample was selected, only those men, generally speaking, whose controls were fully internalized should have been tolerant of all interethnic groups. In all other cases, ethnic attitudes were likely to be influenced by the following factors: (1) the norms established by the controlling institutions toward the particular ethnic group; (2) the degree to which the individual accepted (or submitted to) external control; and (3) the intensity of feelings of deprivation and anxiety.

It should again be emphasized that the acceptance or rejection, the adequacy or inadequacy of controls mentioned in these pages are relative quantities, describing only differences in degree. As a whole, the persons studied were a group of law-abiding citizens. Hence they submitted to or accepted some measure of external control, or at least as much of it as was institutionalized in the law and its agencies. The acceptance of controls seemed to indicate a relatively high degree of conformity to social institutions and mores and was therefore expected to be paralleled by a tendency to adopt society's discrimination of Negroes, at least as long as they remained within legal bounds.

³ Lately another subdivision seems to have been created, with all mankind separated into two “exogamous” classes with respect to marriage—communist and noncommunist. In 1948, the Supreme Soviet approved a ban on all marriages between Russians and foreigners.

A study of the correlates of anti-Negro attitudes, and their comparison with anti-Semitic attitudes, seemed to corroborate these propositions.

Data in the previous chapter indicate that among the sixty-one men who were tolerant toward Jews there were only fourteen whose tolerance seemed due to fully or partly internalized controls, while the tolerance of the remainder seemed due rather to the external control of hostile tendencies. By contrast, half of those who were tolerant to the Negro (seven out of twelve) had internalized controls. It may be added that although twelve of the 150 men forming the sample were tolerant of Negroes, only nine were tolerant of both Jews and Negroes. Of these nine men whose tolerance embraced both Jews and Negroes, seven had fully or partly internalized controls. Only two of the men who were tolerant of both groups seemed to be motivated by external controls. Apparently, internal controls are necessary in order to remain free of accepted prejudice.⁴

Thus while disinterestedness was not uncommon, actual acceptance of an outgroup was relatively rare among members of the sample—as rare as truly internalized controls. The majority of the men tended to follow the dominant cultural patterns of the groups to which they belonged so long as they were not subject to the additional pressure of deprivation or anxiety.

Hostility, it may be said, is displaced not only from the particular object in relation to which it originated, but also from the incomprehensible and often intangible sequence of events which gives rise to frustration and anxiety. Such displaced hostility is often increased by hostility initially originating not only in the social but also in the most private sphere, such as a man's relations to his boss, or to his marriage partner.⁵

In general, such displaced hostility tends to be discharged against a weak group which cannot retaliate with threatening counteraggression, and hence creates no additional anxiety.

In the main, the life circumstances of the veterans were not too favorable for the development of independent ethnic attitudes. Most of them

⁴ This distribution of tolerance among both groups is in line with Freud's analysis according to which all social feelings which embrace individuals outside the primary group are based on internalization—that is, they are due to superego control: "Social feelings arise in the individual as a superstructure founded upon impulses of jealousy and rivalry against his brothers and sisters. Since the enmity cannot be gratified, there develops an identification with the former rival . . . the identification is a substitute for an affectionate object-choice which has succeeded the hostile aggressive attitude." Freud, S.: *The Ego and the Id*, London, Hogarth Press, 1947, p. 50.

⁵ The role of displacement originating in poor sex relations, as evidenced by accusations against Negroes here, and Jews in Germany, should be mentioned in this connection.

had parents whose life histories and cultural levels were such that, excepting for events within their own family circle, they had no need to develop an independent code of interethnic behavior. There was no motive for disregarding the mores of the surrounding community in this regard. Thus the parents transmitted to their children their own viewpoints on larger social issues—opinions which were in accord with the values and standards of behavior which the controlling institutions of society also represented.

Independent opinions on social issues are often the consequence of either rebellion against parent and community, or of the child's having first internalized parental values only to find, later on, that they do not accord with the mores of the community. If this sort of conflict is successfully resolved through integration, ego strength may result, and, in the area of ethnic relations, a high degree of tolerance.⁶

Most members of the group studied experienced no inner conflicts about ethnic issues. The mores of their parents in this regard were those of the surrounding community. When a child rebels against his parents he needs the support of his own age-mates, and selects issues on which he is experiencing such support. These controversial issues confront the individual with the important task of finding solutions independent of parental mores. However, no such pressure for the integration of conflicting values about ethnic relations was experienced. Since parental behavior and external authority were in accord, the individual tended to follow the interethnic pattern already prepared for him. In the case of the sample, the selection of targets for ethnic aggression was relatively predetermined: they selected those of whom not only they, but also their parents, and their community disapproved.⁷

The validity of this observation was demonstrated by the anti-Semite of Chapter VII, who said: "Everyone has prejudices. You just have to have

⁶ Southerners have sometimes become fighters for tolerance. Their tolerance is not infrequently the result of rebellion against parental values, or those of the community in general. But those who do not solve their conflicts through integration remain eternal rebels and are not effective in their struggle for tolerance. For them, the tolerance movement is mainly an outlet for unintegrated hostility and is recognized as such by their opponents. Those who succeed in solving their conflicts emerge with a much stronger ego, and then their efforts, which are the consequence of effective sublimation, are of value to the community at large. They can succeed because they no longer hate their opponents and their opponents recognize that they are not merely being attacked.

⁷ Such attitudes are in marked contrast to those of certain types of college students who are all too frequently made the subject of interethnic attitude research, although few inferences can be drawn from such studies to the population at large. These students, often only in temporary revolt against parental authority, frequently embrace the liberal attitudes of the college community without lasting effect.

something to aim at." Apparently, if there are various groups available against whom to discriminate, that group is selected against whom discrimination is relatively least contrary to an individual's controls.

While "everyone has prejudices," the very intolerant men "hated everybody," as one of them put it. But one cannot live in society and hate everybody. Therefore some psychological methods must be used for dealing with these emotions and one such method is to displace all hatred onto persons or groups who are more suitable for the purpose.

It has been noted that the social mores select the particular groups against whom more or less hostility is discharged. It was therefore expected that those phenomena which were significantly related to anti-Semitism would be analogously associated with intolerance toward the Negro. It was also anticipated that since American society in general, and the group to which these men belonged in particular, is more apt to condone intolerance toward the Negro, these correlates would prove less selective. Therefore, for example, relatively small differences in anxiety might be expected to be associated with different degrees of intolerance toward the Jews, while such differences in anxiety would be associated with intolerance toward Negroes, although the instrument would not permit ascertaining the difference. Conversely, the nature or degree of control which seemed adequate enough to restrain hostile tendencies from finding overt anti-Semitic expression might not be strong enough to restrain an individual from making anti-Negro statements.

It must not be overlooked that, to the men studied, Jew and Negro appeared in quite different relations to themselves. To the men who aspired to higher social status the Jews often seemed to have been successful in this regard, while the Negro almost always seemed an inferior who should be prevented from threatening the individual's superiority. The analysis of the stereotyped pictures of Jews and Negroes showed that the Jew was predominantly seen as the person who should be reduced in status (who "should not own so much"), while the Negro was the person who should not aspire to or be permitted to gain equal status with the men. The desire to achieve the symbols of higher status with which the Jew was invested counteracted hostility to some degree, since the attitudes ascribed to the Jew were at least partially accepted by the individual as features of his ego ideal.

High degrees of ethnic intolerance are seemingly incompatible with the desire to match the status of the discriminated person. Actually total rejection and extreme hostility cannot be maintained if the feeling of envy toward the discriminated person comes to consciousness. To the

intolerant the superiority of his own group must always be assumed. In the sample, the intolerant men wished the Jews to have "less" than they themselves possessed, while tolerant men could admit they would like to have as much as they felt the Jews had. Partial identification which is implied in any wish to have as much as (be like) the other person is incompatible with high degrees of intolerance, and appeared to be wholly absent in the case of the Negro. In effect, the intolerant men wished the Jews not to be more successful than they were, and wished the Negro to remain definitely below their own standards. The last sentiment was only very rarely expressed in connection with the Jews, and then only by extreme anti-Semites.

A comparative analysis of the data gathered in this study bore out expected findings with regard to the Negro: the correlates of intolerance proved more selective for anti-Semitism than for anti-Negro attitudes. A higher degree of association was found between attributes of intolerance and anti-Semitism than anti-Negro attitudes although the degree of hostility against the Negro was much higher. Otherwise the data presented a pattern of similarity between the correlates of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro attitudes, with some few exceptions.

The five attributes most highly associated with anti-Semitism were the same as those for anti-Negro attitudes. When ranked in order they showed only a slight deviation for Jews and Negroes as may be seen below.

| <i>Anti-Semitism</i> | <i>Anti-Negro Attitudes</i> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Feeling of deprivation | Feeling of deprivation |
| Social mobility | Social mobility |
| Rejection of controlling institutions | Rejection of controlling institutions |
| Economic apprehensions | General optimism |
| General optimism | Economic apprehensions |

The greater selectivity of these attributes for indicating anti-Semitism than for indicating anti-Negro attitudes can be seen from their comparison.

The similarity between anti-Negro feelings and anti-Semitism was further corroborated by the fact that of the various other attributes for which the interview probed nearly all those which proved unrelated to anti-Semitism were also unrelated to the degree of intolerance toward Negroes.

Both age and education were statistically unrelated to anti-Negro attitudes, although, as in the case of anti-Semitism, those veterans who

were older or less educated tended to be more intolerant. Political party affiliations and religious denominations were also unrelated to intolerance toward Negroes. (See Appendix, Tables 14(A), 15(A), 16(A), 17(A).)

TABLE 1(VIII)

ATTRIBUTES OF INTOLERANCE

| Attitude | Coefficient of Contingency | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| | Anti-Semitism | Anti-Negro Feeling |
| Feeling of deprivation | .249 | .107 |
| Social Mobility | .114 | .098 |
| Rejection of controlling institutions | .112 | .072 |
| Economic apprehension | .082 | .030 |
| General optimism | .049 | .084 |

On the whole, newspaper reading habits among veterans of all attitudes toward Negroes did not differ significantly. (See Appendix Table 19(A).) However, as far as individual newspapers were concerned, the *Daily News* and the *Sun* had the most tolerant readers.⁸ The tabloid *Times* had a largely intolerant readership among the sample. It was the only paper significantly different from the others in this respect. It should be observed that the *Tribune*, as in the case of anti-Semitism, did not attract a more intolerant readership.

Family composition, as in the case of anti-Semitism, was not associated with anti-Negro attitudes. An exception was the *significantly* greater percentage of divorce found in the families of the outspokenly and intensely anti-Negro veterans. (Appendix Table 19(A).) In Chapter IV it was reported that a greater tendency toward both anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes could be found in those families in which one parent was foreign-born as contrasted with families in which both parents were either born abroad or were native-born. (See also Table 13(A) in the Appendix.) Both of these indices of the absence of family cohesion—divorce and mixed nativity of parents—seem to emphasize that family disorganization may be an important source of intolerance, at least for the group studied.⁹ This observation is in line with findings reported in

⁸ As noted in Chapter IV, the *Sun* and the *Times* were New Deal papers as opposed to the *Herald-American* (Hearst) and the *Tribune*, with the *Daily News* falling somewhere between.

⁹ The absence of a significant relation between divorce and degree of anti-Semitism may be due to the fact that many more men were outspokenly and intensely anti-Negro than anti-Semitic and since only a small percentage of the sample came from broken homes the number of outspoken and intense anti-Semites whose parents were divorced was too small to make the relationship statistically significant.

Chapter VII that those men who recalled their childhood as deprivational were *significantly* more intolerant toward the Jews. They were similarly more intolerant of the Negroes.

A pattern similar to that of anti-Semitism was encountered with regard to social mobility. Outspoken and intense attitudes against the Negro were found most highly concentrated in the downwardly mobile group, while the pattern was significantly reversed for those who had experienced upward mobility (see Table 2(VIII)).

Those who had experienced no change in social mobility presented a picture midway on the continuum of anti-Negro attitudes. (The no-mobility group as a whole was *significantly* different from both the downward mobility and from the upward mobility categories. This stands somewhat in contrast to correlates of anti-Semitism where the no-mobility group more closely resembled the attitudes of the upwardly mobile group.)

While the no-mobility group was most generally in the outspokenly anti-Negro category, anti-Semitism in this group was milder in that it was

TABLE 2(VIII)
ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

| | Downward Mobility | | No Mobility | | Upward Mobility | | Total | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|------------|-------|------------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| Tolerant and Stereotyped | 5 | 28 | 18 | 26 | 22 | 50 | 45 | 34 |
| Outspoken | 5 | 28 | 40 | 59 | 17 | 39 | 62 | 48 |
| Intense | 8 | 44 | 10 | 15 | 5 | 11 | 23 | 18 |
| Total | 18 | | 68 | | 44 | | 130 | |

most generally in the stereotyped category. These data supply another crude index of the limits of intolerance toward minority groups in a northern urban industrial community. In the case of the Jew, the social norms were most likely to produce merely stereotyped thinking, while it was "normal" to be outspoken in one's restrictive hostility toward the Negro.

It has been argued above that stereotyped anti-Semites are potential outspoken and intense anti-Semites, should conditions of social mobility

be altered. The same reasoning appears applicable to anti-Negro attitudes, with the observation that downward mobility is likely to produce the extreme and unbridled hostilities.

As in the case of anti-Semitism, there was a small group of veterans who were upwardly mobile but intensely anti-Negro. Many more members of the upwardly mobile group revealed strongly anti-Semitic attitudes than revealed strongly anti-Negro attitudes; a comparison of Tables 4(IV) and 2(VIII) shows a difference of 32 per cent versus 11 per cent. It is suggestive to assume that this difference may be due to the fact that some members of this upwardly mobile group had reached the status of upper middle class, while their majority were still lower middle class despite their successful movement upward. As a group, they would now be in status competition with a group according to popular opinion more closely identified with Jews. On the other hand it is likely that as individuals they would be less likely to feel the impact of Negro competition.

While these observations seem to stress the socioeconomic factor in ethnic prejudice (but also the psychological factor of fear of failure in competition) it should be repeated that the majority of this upwardly mobile group was on the tolerant end of the continuum. An identical number (exactly half the group) had the most tolerant attitude on the three-point continuum both toward Jews and toward Negroes. Thus it seems that the generally optimistic outlook on life which one might expect in a relatively successful group, combined with the relative ego strength which goes with success, is considerably more important in conditioning attitudes of tolerance than the social and economic factor of competition.

Further insight into the difference between anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes was provided by the socioeconomic correlates of anti-Negro attitudes. Here, in contrast to anti-Semitism, anti-Negro attitudes bore an association to certain of the indices of socioeconomic status.

The current salary range of the veterans as well as their rank at the time of discharge produced no statistically significant differences when related to anti-Negro attitudes, as in the case of anti-Semitism. (Compare Tables 3(IV) and 20(A).)

However, socioeconomic status, as measured by the Alba Edwards scale (see Chapter IV) was found to reveal *significant* differences in anti-Negro attitudes. (See Table 21(A) in the Appendix.) Semi-skilled workers were found to be more outspokenly or intensely anti-Negro. Other levels of socioeconomic status were not significantly related to intolerance. Among the clerks and kindred worker categories there was

no concentration of outspoken or intense attitudes against the Negro. Within the age group studied the white-collar workers, often accused of being particularly prejudiced, proved to be no more anti-Semitic or anti-Negro than any other group. The study of attitudes prevalent among semi-skilled workers, however, suggests that the group which is directly threatened in its economic (job) security is likely to be more intolerant of the group with which it feels it is in competition.

This observation was borne out by the higher concentration of anti-Negro attitudes in the semi-skilled category which accounts in substantial measure for the association between anti-Negro attitude and socioeconomic stratification, an association which was absent as regarded anti-Semitism. This distribution of anti-Negro attitudes is compatible with the positive relation between tolerance and social mobility. A relatively high proportion of the sample was concentrated in the semi-skilled category. There the pressure for upward social mobility meets with a minimum amount of success as a result of increasingly rigid class stratification. In particular, this group is directly subject to economic competition from the Negro in the mass production and construction industries. This may explain why apprehension about unemployment was *significantly* associated with anti-Negro attitudes.

All of the foregoing also seems applicable to the association between anti-Negro attitudes and the veteran's job aspiration. Dubious feelings or outright doubt that he would be able to achieve his occupational ambitions were *significantly* associated with the degree of a man's anti-Negro attitudes. On the other hand those veterans who felt they would succeed in achieving their occupational and economic aspirations were *significantly* more tolerant of the Negro. Such associations were not found in the case of anti-Semitism.

Reactions to war experiences and their relation to expressions of anti-Negro feelings followed closely the pattern of anti-Semitism discussed in Chapter V. In both cases, subjective feelings of deprivation were significantly associated with intolerance. The more objective criteria of conditions of army service (such as combat vs. noncombat, injuries sustained, length of service, and the like) proved unrelated to intolerance. While the men's overall statements about army experiences demonstrated that *significantly* more of those who felt subjectively deprived by army life held anti-Negro attitudes, definite convictions of having had a bad break in the army, or that time spent in the army was a serious setback, tended to be concentrated among those men who were outspokenly

and intensely anti-Negro, although this pattern was not definite enough to be statistically significant.

Remarks about army experiences which indicated the individual's tendency to identify with national goals were found to be associated with tolerance toward Negroes, as was the case with tolerance toward Jews.

During the discussion of army experiences the veterans were asked, "How did the fellows in your outfit get along with the Negroes?" Responses offered an indirect method of gauging the association between intolerance and personal contact with Negroes in the army. Almost 40 per cent of the men claimed to have had no contact with Negroes while in service (that is, close or sustained contact). Claiming to have had no contact with Negroes in the army was *significantly* associated with outspoken and intense intolerance toward the Negro. Of course, contact with Negroes in the army is not necessarily associated with decreased hostility toward them. However it is quite possible that outspoken and intense hostility toward Negroes may have been associated not only with a tendency to avoid contact, but also to deny having had such contact. (The percentage who claimed to have had no contact with Jews was too small to permit statistical breakdowns in terms of degree of anti-Semitism, so that no comparison with anti-Semitism was possible.)¹⁰

When the pattern of anti-Negro attitudes was viewed in terms of the structure of the men's controls, the hypothesis of intolerance as a function of inadequate controls tended to be confirmed. But while the thesis was qualitatively confirmed, its application in the case of the Negro shows that even relatively adequate controls were not strong enough to permit tolerance toward the Negro.

In general only those who possessed truly internalized controls seemed to have genuinely tolerant attitudes toward Negroes. In the case of anti-Semitism, the acceptance of or submission to external control seemed enough to support a relative tolerance. But where the Negro was concerned, the same degree of acceptance was accompanied by attitudes

¹⁰ In contrast to the type of random contacts with Negro troops for which the interview questions probed, a study by the Information and Education Division, U. S. War Department, reports that more favorable attitudes toward Negro troops were encountered in white soldiers who had direct combat experiences with Negroes. Some Negro platoons of infantry volunteers were employed with white infantry platoons in combat conditions in Europe. But although the use of Negro platoons alongside of white platoons represented relatively close contact between white and Negro troops, it was still a form of segregation since, both under actual combat conditions and while in reserve, the men were organized into color-line platoons and not completely intermixed. (*Report No. B-17*, Washington: Information and Education Division, Army Service Forces, U. S. War Department, 1945.)

which were largely stereotyped and outspoken rather than tolerant—for those were the corresponding norms of our society.¹¹

In the case of the Negro, societal controls exercise a regulating and restraining influence only on what would be classified as "intense" intolerance, or open expressions of the desire for violence. Such violence is generally disapproved of by the controlling institutions—while they approve, if not enforce, stereotyped and outspoken attitudes. Therefore, those men who were strongly influenced by external controls were, in the majority, stereotyped and outspoken but not intense in their expressions of intolerance toward Negroes.

This emerged quite clearly when the comprehensive index of attitudes toward institutions of external authority (see Table 3(VII)) was related to anti-Negro attitudes (see Table 3(VIII)).

TABLE 3(VIII)

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO AND TOWARD CONTROLLING INSTITUTIONS

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken | | Intense | | Total | |
|--------------|----------|-----|-------------|-----|-----------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|
| | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. | Per- | No. |
| | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | | centage | |
| Acceptance | 9 | 75 | 19 | 48 | 38 | 51 | 6 | 25 | 72 | 48 |
| Intermediate | 2 | 17 | 16 | 40 | 23 | 31 | 4 | 17 | 45 | 30 |
| Rejection | 1 | 8 | 5 | 12 | 13 | 18 | 14 | 58 | 33 | 22 |
| Total | 12 | | 40 | | 74 | | 24 | | 150 | |

The division between those who rejected and those who accepted external control came between outspoken and intense attitudes toward Negroes. To score "high" on the index of rejection for the four controlling institutions meant that an individual was likely to fall in the intensely

¹¹ The legal sanctioning of segregation, such as in restrictive covenants, does much to develop and maintain stereotyped opinions about Negroes. Not only do the consequences of segregation breed "dirtiness" and "negligence," they also lend support to the rationalization of such covenants by creating tangible evidence that the presence of Negroes devalues property. Such regulations also tend to increase the habit of stereotyped thinking about Negroes. Real-estate values may decline due to the influx of Negroes, but while this is commonly stressed, the increase in return which the property often yields due to higher rents is usually neglected. The correlation which psychoanalysis has revealed to exist in nearly every instance, between anal preoccupation on the one hand and an interest in cleanliness and money (property) on the other, is highly suggestive. The common reaction-formation against anality, in our society, is wealth and "property." Therefore the rejection of dirt must, psychologically speaking, coexist with the accusation that such "dirtiness" rules out the maintenance of wealth and property.

anti-Negro category. Acceptance of external controls was not only inadequate in conditioning men to be tolerant of the Negroes, it was not even enough to prevent them from holding outspoken views in that regard. It served only to restrain demands for open violence.

These observations are further corroborated by a more detailed analysis of the relationship between attitudes towards the Negro and those toward specific symbols of authority. No significant association between tolerance toward the Negro and acceptance of those authority symbols selected for investigation could be established. The number of persons who were tolerant toward the Negro was so small in the sample that it may have influenced the findings to some degree. But the number of men who held merely stereotyped opinions—and were thus relatively more tolerant—was large enough to indicate a significant tendency had it been present.

Of all the social institutions which represent symbols or systems of authority, one stands alone at the top of the ethical scale: religion. Problems of expedience or momentary dissatisfaction may influence a man's attitude toward any one of the four symbols of social authority which were used in constructing the index. Therefore religion and religious attitudes were deliberately not included because religious authority seemed to rank on a different plane. In studying the association between religious attitudes and anti-Semitism it was found that stability of religious convictions was *significantly* associated with tolerance toward Jews. Such association was *not* encountered in the case of the Negro, thus demonstrating an apparent weakness of religious authority in this respect.¹² The fact that nearly all correlates of tolerance toward the Jews proved less discriminating for the Negro seems to offer a convenient explanation. Nevertheless, this seems a rather flimsy explanation for so strong an influence as the precept of brotherly love.

Historically speaking, one might have expected that Christian animosity toward the unbeliever would have induced men with stable religious convictions to feel more strongly about non-Christians (Jews) than about fellow Christians (Negroes). True, while medieval religious fervor often led to religious persecution, the modern American-Protestant interpretation of Christianity has tended towards greater tolerance. But tolerance of the Jews out of religious conviction cannot explain why no similar

¹² True, there are regions in the U.S. where segregation in church attendance is upheld and condoned. In such instances, the church performs the same function in attitude formation that the law does when it supports restrictive covenants in secular life. However, this was not true in Chicago where the study was made, and where on the whole the church has preached tolerance and has practiced it.

association could be found between stability of religious convictions and relatively greater tolerance toward the Christian Negro.

In the discussion of stereotypes in Chapter III it was mentioned that prejudice against Jews is rationalized differently from prejudice against the Negro. It was pointed out that according to psychoanalytic theory the psychological mechanisms underlying prejudice are those of projection and displacement—both of them efforts to retain or to reestablish a threatened intrapsychic balance. While various unacceptable tendencies can be dealt with in this way, the projections themselves, in order to remain within the limits of "normal" behavior, must withstand a minimum of reality testing. This means that there must be a nucleus of reality around which they must be built up (see p. 32 f) and it must be possible to rationalize them by means which are satisfactory to the individual's controlling institutions and to the group to which he belongs. Reality is not tested out of context, nor are rationalizations developed independent of the prevailing frame of reference. Hence rationalizations which would frequently have to be reexamined or challenged for their compatibility with the individual's life experiences would finally prove useless either to the individual's superego, or to his ego. However such challenges would have to originate with members of his own group. Only if the ingroup challenges the rationalization does it become inadequate for protecting the projection or displacement which would thus lose its value in securing the individual's integration, devious as that might be.

But the rationalization of prejudice does more than just allow for displacements. It also serves more important and more devious purposes. Initially the superego objects to a tendency which must therefore be displaced. But for the same reason that the superego initially rejected the tendency, it not only comes to approve of the persecution of the individual onto whom the tendency was displaced, it even demands it. As a matter of fact, persecution on the grounds of morality has had superego sanction throughout history. This was particularly clear in cases of religious persecution where the pagan's destruction was not only permitted, but demanded by the superego. Such persecution is one of the instances in which the superego permits gratification of hostile and sadistic tendencies which must otherwise be warded off. Thus the usually restraining function of the superego over instinctual (id) tendencies is for all practical purposes perverted into its opposite. A major function of the superego is to demand—or so at least one would hope in our society—that the weaker group, the minority, should not be persecuted. But because of the rationalization it has invented to justify the persecution, and because of

the unacceptable tendency it has displaced onto the minority, the superego now demands the minority's persecution.

In a way, this form of behavior is no more than a continued "persecution" of the self for its own objectionable tendencies and would, if it came to consciousness, be experienced as guilt. Therefore the ego in its defensive function rids itself of the guilt by externalizing it and displacing it on persons who thus become "guilty" instead, so that the ego itself can go free. In its synthesizing function the ego tries to eliminate all conflicts between id and superego by externalizing tendencies originating in one or the other and displacing them onto other persons. If such displacement is directed at members of an ethnic outgroup, the phenomenon of ethnic intolerance ensues. Once id tendencies are thus dealt with, for instance, the outgroup may then be experienced vicariously as enjoying filth. If superego tendencies are dealt with in the same way, the outgroup is experienced as persecuting the ingroup. The feeling of guilt which originally "persecuted" the self within its structure is now gone, for the persecution has been externalized. Thus, in a way, no persecution of a minority group takes place where the majority group does not feel "persecuted" by the minority.¹³

Eissler has pointed out that in those cases where tendencies rejected by the superego are displaced on members of an outgroup, the rationalizations for persecution of the outgroup induce the superego to join its energy to the id's asocial impulses. In this way the instincts are supplemented by seemingly moral convictions and support the ego's attempt to satisfy the tendencies of both id and superego.¹⁴ If this analysis should be valid, it would follow that the fury with which an outgroup is persecuted, and the degree of guilt which such aggressive behavior entails, would depend to a large degree on whether the externalized conflict as well as the rationalizations applied to justify the persecution were of such a

¹³ This projection of guilt, which makes individual members of the group projecting the guilt feel persecuted, is by no means restricted to phenomena of ethnic intolerance. In most wars known to history each warring group has accused the other of having "started" the war, i.e., of having persecuted the other group. This was usually explained as "hypocrisy" on the part of one or both warring parties. The view that this phenomenon is a rationalization by means of which each group tries to justify its case offers only a partial explanation. The justification of aggression by rationalization is only an addition to the primary phenomenon of guilt projection. Most members of the warring groups simply feel guilty about their own aggressions set loose. They project this persecution by their own superegos onto members of the other group, who thus become, psychologically speaking, the true persecutors. The fight against them then becomes true "self-defense," i.e., defense of the self against tendencies which threaten its integration.

¹⁴ Eissler, K. R.: "Incidental Observations During Psychiatric Surveys on Seven German Prisoners of War," *American Journal of Psychotherapy* II:53, 1948.

nature that the superego could join forces with the id. If rejected id tendencies are externalized and if rationalizations used are in line with the superego's moral demands (as for instance when an outgroup is accused of disorderliness or laziness) then id and superego join energies in the persecution. If, on the other hand, superego demands are displaced, because they are too overwhelming or too contrary to the pleasure drives, then tendencies are externalized, which are still basically in line with the superego demands, although rationalizations may be used which are unacceptable to the superego. Therefore such "persecution" will never be quite free of guilt feelings, and never be as vicious as the persecution of amorality.¹⁵

In present-day U. S. society, unacceptable id tendencies are mainly displaced onto Negroes (sex libertinism, dirtiness, laziness). Therefore, the superego can lend full support to their discrimination, since these are tendencies against which it fights continuously. Religion, the representation of superego demands, is thus much weaker as a mitigating influence on intolerance of the Negro than on intolerance of the Jew. This may explain why stability of religious convictions was so markedly associated with tolerance toward the Jew but failed to be associated with tolerance toward the Negro.

This theoretical analysis seems to be borne out by the data on stereotypes (see Tables 2(III) and 3(III)). In terms of frequency, the two stereotypes most often applied to the Negro were that they are dirty and that they depreciate property. Both of them are related to id demands, and both contain symbols which are closely connected with anal preoccupation; the first directly, the second as the accusation that the Negro destroys what is the frequent, and in our society, the most highly esteemed reaction-formation against anality: wealth. The acceptance of dirt and the interference with a reaction formation against it are therefore most obnoxious to a culture which maintains that "cleanliness is next to godliness."

The two stereotypes most often applied to the Jews were that they are clannish and help one another, and that they have the money. Helping one another is certainly a superego demand. (True, this stereotype

¹⁵ This can be observed, for instance, in a classroom situation where the mediocre students may sneer at intellectual achievements in others—a reaction which is not free of guilt and therefore relatively mild. On the other hand, if such a classroom group attacks one of its members because of dirtiness or bad smell, the persecution will be much more vicious, and free of guilt. In this case, the students feel their own balance threatened by the example of someone who is getting away with undesirable behavior. Against such a threat, the students who discriminate against the "dirty" one will be restrained in their actions only by societal sanctions.

is frequently combined with the depreciatory one of clannishness. But basically the accusation of clannishness implies nothing but a restatement of the otherness of this different "clan" and as such is without ethical connotation. It acquires its depreciatory flavor only through fear of the strange outgroup, and through envy—as discussed on p. 39.) Interest in the possession of money—quite apart from the high status it provides in our society—is certainly a reaction-formation, developed under societal and superego pressure, against the primitive interest in dirt. Thus the rationalizations used for justifying anti-Semitism are closely related to superego demands.

It now becomes understandable why external controls, as the creations, representations, or symbols of superego demands, lend support to the discrimination of those groups on whom id tendencies are displaced, while they mitigate the discrimination of groups on whom reaction-formations against id tendencies are displaced. In view of these observations it was to be expected that the lack of association between tolerance toward the Negro, on the one hand, and acceptance of the four societal institutions or stability of religious convictions, on the other, would also hold true for the other symbols of authority which were studied. The acceptance of or submission to army authority, for example, proved unrelated to tolerance toward the Negroes. Those who got along with their officers and those who felt that army discipline was "all right" were neither more nor less tolerant toward Negroes than the rest of the group.

In summary, a study of attitudes toward symbols of external control supports the impression received from the earlier evaluation of individual interviews: only integrated attitudes make for true tolerance. Only a strong ego is able to synthesize the opposing tendencies of pleasure and reality in line with the pressures of the environment. Only a strong ego manages to gratify instinctual tendencies without having to resort to "persecution" and only such a strong ego is able to maintain balance without projecting or displacing those strivings which in a weak ego lead to unmanageable inner conflicts.

While the study of anti-Semitism indicates that, other things being equal, the acceptance of or submission to external controls seemed sufficient to assure a moderate, if not tolerant attitude, the study of anti-Negro attitudes suggests that such moderation in feelings about Jews is of a rather tenuous nature. It will perhaps be maintained so long as another outgroup provides objects for the displacement and persecution

of instinctual tendencies which threaten the person's integration, and so long as external controls favor a tolerant attitude toward Jews.

The study has revealed a few deviant cases in which men displayed tolerant attitudes toward both Negroes and Jews despite the absence of strong egos, but each of them was due to unusual combinations of circumstances. One man, for example, was tolerant of Jews and Negroes although he had the characteristics of those men whose egos were weak, and applied the same mechanisms for maintaining his integration which characterized the intolerant men. The fact was that he had displaced almost all of his unacceptable and externalized id tendencies on Russia and communism (and in turn felt persecuted by them) so that he needed no other "scapegoat."

Men who relied on nonintegrated controls—whether in the form of external authority or nonintegrated superego pressures¹⁶—for maintaining their defense against asocial instinctual pressures could not function without discriminating against some minority group or other. Their tolerance of the Jews was due mainly to the fact that Negroes presented more "suitable" objects for discrimination. This suggests that the specific problem of anti-Semitism, as opposed to intolerance in general, can never be viewed as isolated but must always be analyzed within the context of the societal structure in which it occurs. The same must also hold true for discrimination of the Negro, or of any other ethnic minority. If two or more such minorities are available for the displacement of internal conflicts, and if their position in society makes one more "logical" for displacement of id tendencies, while the other seems more suitable for displacement of reaction-formations against id tendencies, then the first of the two groups will usually experience more serious discrimination.¹⁷

Personality structure alone, then, cannot entirely explain why people set out to discriminate against particular ethnic groups, or why they are more discriminating of one group than another. The defensive needs of the individual, the economic and social structure of the community, and the ethnic realities of the moment must also be taken into account. From

¹⁶ One veteran who held stereotyped opinions about minorities made statements which revealed considerable anxiety about his economic future and also displayed other attitudes characteristic of an intensely intolerant personality make-up. However, his ethnic aggressions were restrained by an overstrict, unintegrated super-ego. This was indicated by his remarks about the importance of strict upbringing, when he said: "Nowadays children are too free. There's not enough discipline. I was ruled with an iron hand and it sure served a good purpose. The good old tanning system is best."

¹⁷ This is why it would be erroneous to apply lessons learned from German anti-Semitism, for example, to settings such as the United States, without making ample allowance for differences in the social structure of the two countries.

the preceding discussion it appears that in the United States and in a northern metropolis, the stereotyping and discrimination of Jews is currently fulfilling certain defensive personality needs, while the stereotyping and discrimination of the Negro fulfills others. It might well be that in the absence of one of these two ethnic minority groups, all or most of these defensive needs would be satisfied by "persecution" of the remaining one, or so at least might be inferred from the German example. But in the city studied—and in most other important United States centers of culture and policy formation—these two ethnic minorities exist, occupy differing positions in the community, and are made use of accordingly.

CHAPTER IX

REFLECTIONS, AND APPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION

In this report, the authors have sought to isolate the main psychological and sociological attributes which might explain the intolerance manifested by the veterans. Our conclusions have led toward emphasizing the factors of subjective deprivation, downward social mobility, anxiety, and the absence of adequate control of hostile discharge against ethnic minorities. An approach such as that of this study has its limitations and leaves certain areas untouched which as yet cannot be fully investigated by means of the scientific methods (such as statistical analysis) that were applied throughout the study. This chapter attempts to round out the report through further speculation based on the data collected in the study.

All generalizations which have appeared in previous chapters must be evaluated as deriving from a particular though significant sample of men living within a particular social structure. In this chapter, the authors wish to do more than simply evaluate their findings in terms of social scientific standards. The point has been reached where some suggestion must be made as to the application of those findings to social action.

In the planning and analysis of this study the authors have utilized the theory and observations of dynamic psychology and of sociological analysis. There is little point in raising the question of which system is most adequate for explaining ethnic intolerance. It is clear enough from the findings that either system alone would have been inadequate. It is hoped that the present study—among others—may perhaps supply the basis for further theoretical developments in the integration of these now separate bodies of theory.

The personality structures of the men in the sample were to a large degree formed under the impact of existing society. If ethnic intolerance is rooted in the intolerant individual's personality, then we must ask ourselves what in this society shapes personality in such a way that

ethnic intolerance seems a frequent, if not a favorite outlet for hostility. While it is not true, as the Marxist maintains, that ethnic intolerance is a consequence of the capitalist system, ethnic intolerance occurring within a capitalist society will nevertheless be deeply influenced in character by that society.

It may once more be stressed that intolerance is always an outlet for hostility, but that it depends for its intensity on the degree of hostility accumulated, and on the strength of the controls which restrain it. While hostility against outgroups is probably as old as society, the particular form in which hostility occurs is particular to the society in which it appears. Although anti-Semitism has been present in slave societies, feudal societies, capitalist societies, and recently too in communist society, it appears in each case to have been a different social phenomenon. What is historically permanent in anti-Semitism, for example, is only that members of a particular religious or ethnic group have been persecuted. The German-Jewish scientist, banker, physician, or laborer whom Hitler persecuted was as different from the medieval Jewish ghetto pawnbroker as was the German SS man from the German peasant or master craftsman who persecuted Jews in the Middle Ages. And as different as they were from one another, so also were their persecutions. Their differences originated in the different forms of society in which they lived—societies which shaped their personalities, outlooks, motives, and actions, which aroused their hostility, created frustration, and controlled its discharge. Hence their motives in persecuting the Jews were equally different, and equally rooted in the structure of their society.

In this book only that type of ethnic intolerance is analyzed which is prevalent in the urban centers of modern western society. Since the particular form in which it appears is an outgrowth of that society, it must be intimately connected with it, although it may still originate in each individual's personal frustrations, anxieties, hostilities, and so on. Two examples may serve to illustrate.

In a slave society in which one ethnic group rules another, the ruling group does more than simply tolerate the life—and even to some degree the well-being—of the discriminated group. The presence of this group is not only desired, it is vital to the working of society, and the latter, in case of need, must assure itself by warfare of securing new slaves. Some remnants of the attitudes originating in the needs of a slave society might account in part for observations made in the second chapter of this book. In that chapter it was mentioned that while the very intolerant men asked for the deportation of Jews, almost none of them requested

deportation of Negroes, but requested instead that they be kept in their "place." The reason may well be that the Negro, although discriminated against, is nevertheless experienced as an important member of society, or at least as a person who serves a useful function. If the Negro were to leave, it would be left to the white man to perform those less desirable tasks which are now relegated to the Negro. Thus ethnic intolerance in its modern form was unthinkable in a society whose ethnic outgroups actually provided the economic base, as in a slave society. As a matter of fact, there are many ways in which modern ethnic intolerance tends to reestablish settings which were characteristic of slave society—the Negro must know and keep in his "place"; the Jew and members of other inferior races must labor in the concentration camp.

Ethnic intolerance as a social phenomenon takes on markedly different aspects depending on the social structure in which it occurs, and can be comprehended only when viewed in the context of that society. The example of medieval anti-Semitism may serve as an additional illustration. Jewish persecution in the Middle Ages charged the Jews with enjoying ill-begotten wealth—and the desire to gain, through plundering their riches, was an important incentive. But in medieval anti-Semitism, these seemed only random phenomena. What seemed to excite real ire in the populace was that the Jews refused to be saved, thus reviving and enforcing in the Christians repressed doubts about their own salvation. (Without firsthand knowledge, all statements about the inner psychological processes of individuals who lived during the medieval period must remain conjecture. Still it might be reasonable to assume that his id, superego, and ego served similar functions in the psychological apparatus, but were differently constituted than those of modern man. Cleanliness was considered vain, if not unhealthy; the content of the superego was ordained by the Church; and the priest and the Church provided the most powerful superego representation. The superego had no need to evoke symbols of self-respect or individual conscience for restraining ego and id—the fear of hell and damnation were much more powerful incentives. Moreover, the ego was not confronted with an abundance of choices, and a relatively weak ego sufficed for mastering the tasks of life. Life activities were more rigidly organized and less subject to freedom of choice than they are today and the ego was less taxed in its need to synthesize opposing tendencies. Which of these tendencies, and in which ways they might be satisfied was more or less ordered by rules and tradition.)

It seems reasonable to assume that the ego of medieval man was at

least as much concerned with saving his immortal soul as it was with making his temporal life successful. It is difficult to decide where his individual superego began, and where the Church and its teaching served him in its stead. Even the true medieval heretics (St. John of the Cross, etc.) bowed to the authority of popes, of whose individual shortcomings they were not unaware.¹

What the individual during the Middle Ages appears to have feared most was not loss in status or economic security, but loss of grace. Much as he might have cherished the former, it was far more important, and a much greater threat, to fear damnation and the loss of eternal life. But it was not always easy to live by the rules of the superego-Church. (That the Church permitted considerable id gratification may be disregarded for the purpose of this discussion.) The id pressed for a gratification that was not always sanctioned by the Church, so that the ego and individualized superego may often have joined forces in doubting salvation through religious conformity. Such doubts had to be done away with, had to be persecuted and extinguished. They were the greatest threat to the individual's integration. One way to eliminate this threat was to project the conflict onto the Jews. In the Middle Ages, the most frequent accusation made against Jews, and the one which aroused the greatest hatred, was that they had desecrated the host. Closely related was the other accusation that they had committed ritual murders, used children they had killed to say a black mass.

The example of the Marannos (Spanish Jews converted to Catholicism) shows that these accusations reflected a very probable origin of anti-Semitism at that time, namely the Christian's fear of being a bad Catholic (more so, at least, than modern accusations indicate the real reasons for modern anti-Semitism). These Spanish Jews were notoriously wealthy as well as culturally and politically influential, and aside from religious accusations, their wealth, too, was held against them.² Still a change of religion put an end to their persecution, provided they really meant it. As soon as Spanish Jews became Catholics, they were not only permitted

¹ Thus the superego which forced them to take a stand against the temporary Church was not strong enough to assert its absolute independence. On the other hand, the Protestant reformers, and their forerunners from Wycliffe on, seem to have had more individualized superegos which permitted them to supplement faith with their own observations in taking a stand against Church and pope. But in this sense they were rather precursors of modern man than typically medieval and once the reforms they inaugurated were established, modern times had begun.

² The modern accusation of clannishness (the one most frequently used by the men in the sample) was absent in medieval anti-Semitism, probably because the modern sense of isolation and the fear of alienation were not then prevalent.

to retain status and wealth, but were frequently known to increase in both.

In modern times when religious appeals have been introduced as a basis for the persecution of Jews, they have nearly always fallen flat.³ Religious fear, or such inner conflicts as are based on it, is just no longer important enough to motivate large masses. Again and again ritual murder stories have been circulated, but have never been widely believed, or at least not in urban centers. The only places where they were lent some credence and led to persecutions were in eastern Europe, where economic, political, and religious organization was still very similar to that of the Middle Ages (the last time in the notorious Beilis case of 1911). Religious conversion which protected Spanish Jews was ultimately of little help to Jews in Germany. Thus although in the two examples, the German and the Spanish, both religious and economic accusations were used, the religious was more basic in the Middle Ages, while it is insignificant in modern times. On the other hand, the economic accusation seems all-important in modern times. The racial issue raised in National Socialist Germany seems but a return to the Middle Ages with racialism taking the place of religion. But into this new "religion" one cannot be "admitted"—the infidel, the man of a lower race, must be extinguished.

While the ethos of medieval society was largely religious, that of the men studied was largely economic. By and large, the latter considered income as the main status-providing factor. Security itself was experienced mainly as economic—as job or income security—and even those men who valued intellectual achievement viewed it chiefly as an economic asset.

The men strove little for religious salvation, but they certainly wished for economic security which was even more important to them than higher income, as some of them stated themselves. But economic security is not easily achieved in a competitive society. Moreover, the notion is widespread that in a competitive society everyone can better his status if he tries hard enough. This, of course, puts an added psychological burden on the man who does not even achieve an occupational position which he thinks will assure his economic well-being. In addition to not attaining needed security, he also experiences a blow to his self-esteem.

Thus the person who experiences a lowering of income is doubly deprived. He is dissatisfied with himself and in addition must fear for his economic welfare. Frustration therefore accumulates and presses for

³ Throughout the interviews when reasons for the dislike of Jews were mentioned, references to religion were almost totally absent.

discharge in those men who experience downward mobility. To such men, ethnic discrimination offers a convenient outlet. But the fourth chapter has shown that it was not only those who experienced a lowering of economic status who were prejudiced, but also those who were stationary in that respect, although there was a significant difference in the intensity of intolerance between these two groups. In terms of existing society even the men whose status was unchanged had reason to be fearful, although they needed, in general, to be less anxious than those on the downgrade. The no-mobility group had failed to live up to the challenge that one better oneself which is inherent in competitive society. Although many social scientists would agree that to remain stationary in our society often indicates that a man has made good in competition, such an attitude is not yet part of the economic ethos. Therefore such men are not really at peace; their self-esteem, too, is threatened, though considerably less so than that of a member of the downwardly mobile group. Thus, among other reasons, even the stationary group took advantage of ethnic discrimination as a channel for the discharge of accumulated hostility. On the other hand, the upwardly mobile group, for their part, had gained enough courage from recent successes to feel they might weather a future depression which they, too, nevertheless feared.

Early in the book (Chapter III) it was mentioned that among the group studied there seemed to be a tendency to select the Jews as the group on whom to project those superego demands making for conflict within the individual, and that the character of anti-Semitism was strongly influenced by such projections. The intolerant men felt that the Jews were successful in those areas where they themselves had failed to make good. Their superegos—in line with the economic ethos of society—required that they increase their earnings and rise in the hierarchy of status. Against these demands, which they could not fulfill, the stationary and particularly the downwardly mobile group defended their egos by pointing to the Jews. It was the Jews, they claimed, who exercised undue control, possessed the money, and thus prevented their own success.

But these same groups among the sample were also the ones who were considerably more intolerant of Negroes than were the men who had risen economically. They could hardly accuse the Negroes of controlling them and thus blocking their advance, nor could they accuse them of possessing the money. Moreover, it has been pointed out that unacceptable id tendencies were most frequently projected onto Negroes, and these tendencies were certainly not required by the social ethos. If the specific form of intolerance in a given society is a function of that social

structure and if the character of modern anti-Semitism is conditioned by the structure of modern society, the same must also hold true for intolerance toward the Negro. While the economic and social ethos which was evident among the sample generally required that a man should work hard, earn good money, and in that way better his status, by the same token it rejected tendencies toward laziness, lack of orderliness and cleanliness, unreliability, immorality, and loss of property through neglect.⁴

The type of accusations directed against the Negroes and the manner in which individual tendencies are projected onto that group are highly influenced by social mores. These mores decree which tendencies are unacceptable and which must be integrated and, if that is not possible, which must be eliminated. Those men who had risen occupationally (and to some degree those who had remained stationary) seem to have felt they had complied with the social ethos and thus felt less threatened by their instinctual desires. With their achievement they showed both the world and themselves that their rejected id tendencies interfered in no way with their doing their "duty." Their wish to "take things easy" was obviously no hindrance to their well-being and therefore implied considerably less of a threat to their integration than it did to the no-mobility or downwardly mobile groups. In this connection it might also be mentioned that members of the sample were part of the age group of which occupational improvement is even more expected than of younger or older men—the first being considered beginners, the latter definitely settled. The veterans studied were men enjoying their "best" years—those years, according to prevalent notions, which should be used to climb in the social hierarchy.

Obviously a man who is convinced that his stationary, or even downward socioeconomic position is only temporary can view his position with greater equanimity than one who is more or less convinced it is permanent. He will be able to maintain his integration despite superego pressure for greater achievement. On the other hand, a person who views his occupational potential with pessimism, who fears that an impending change in the business cycle will lead to a loss of his present earning power, will be unable to integrate his superego's pressure and less able to permit himself even those id gratifications which someone more relatively secure can afford to enjoy with ease.

The degree to which a person is haunted by fear depends in good

⁴The accusation that the presence of Negroes depreciates the value of property usually carries the definite connotation that such depreciation is due to willful neglect. To lose money or to occasion depreciation through chance rarely arouses the disgust which is created by supposedly willful negligence.

measure on what he feels is expected of him, either by himself or by others. Perhaps in the Middle Ages the man who felt sure he was saved was relatively free from fear and could therefore integrate the comparatively small amounts of aggression he might otherwise have discharged in ethnic hostility. On the other hand, by persecuting the unbelievers the man who feared his damnation might have tried to demonstrate to himself, to others—and, he may have hoped, to God—that he was not as bad a Christian as he feared. He, too, might have been persecuting another “doubting” man so that he might temporarily forget his own doubts. At the same time such persecution allowed him to discharge some of the hostility which was partially created by his fear of damnation, a fear which arose from his doubts. According to this study, many fears now related to intolerance are of an economic nature, hence can be approached rationally and, perhaps, dissolved. In many ways the situation is better in modern times, where few fears are related to the inaccessible supernatural. There are still ways to demonstrate to a person that he may feel secure about his economic future—or there would be if a constant increase in earning power, and success in competition were no longer a feature of economic security—while there was no way, in the Middle Ages, of assuring a man of salvation. Of course, this holds true only in so far as, and as long as the economic system with its vastness, complexity, and lack of individual responsibility or comprehension of the consequences of economic actions is not experienced by the individual as equally incomprehensible and overpowering as the supernatural appeared to the man of the Middle Ages.

THE INDIVIDUAL

After so much has been said about the economic concomitants of intolerance it should again be stressed that the comparison of objective army experiences and their subjective evaluation (Chapter V) has shown that objective reality seemed comparatively less important in shaping interethnic attitudes than the personal frame of reference within which objective reality is experienced. Despite the insecurities of the present day, quite a number of the veterans had egos which were adequate enough to master economic anxieties so that they were not forced to evaluate past, present, and future experiences as deprivational. They were relatively free of fear and found it possible to be optimistic even in adverse circumstances (combat, threat of depression, etc.). Such optimism and the self-confidence and self-respect which go with it, as

well as the parallel ability to control hostility, all originate in fortunate childhood experiences. Positive relationships to parents and other members of the primary group and sufficient gratification of instinctual needs during childhood seem to equip a child with sufficient emotional strength to grow into an adult who feels able to master the difficulties of contemporary life.⁵ Thus, in more than one way, anxiety about the future and the discharge of aggression in hostile action is a two-generation problem. The individual who has experienced even relative security in childhood will probably have acquired a personality structure which permits him to weather even relatively great frustrations and insecurities without experiencing them as a threat to his personal integration. He will not need to bolster his integration through the mechanism of projection, or the explosive and irrational discharge of hostility against members of an outgroup. On the other hand, a child born into a family which experiences actual deprivation during the child's most formative years will, in addition to actual deprivation, most probably be raised in an atmosphere of emotional insecurity. He will be unable to view his life experiences optimistically and thus every positive experience will lose much of its reassuring, ego-strengthening value. Conversely, every negative experience will seem according to expectation and thus even more deprivational and overpowering.⁶

⁵ Clinical observations of severely disturbed children permit several interesting inferences on the consequences of actual and emotional deprivation during infancy and childhood. Children who on initial examination showed comparable degrees of disturbance, nevertheless showed marked differences in improvement during psychiatric treatment, depending chiefly on their past life experiences. Children who had suffered severe actual deprivation because they had been raised in submarginal families or in orphanages soon improved markedly. The abundant gratification of instinctual and interpersonal needs, as provided by the new environment, during treatment—they lived in a psychiatric institution—permitted them to modify their outlook on life quite rapidly. They learned soon enough that past deprivations were only one of many possible kinds of experiences and realized that life has more to offer than they had once thought. Hence, they did their best to adjust to it. On the other hand, children of well-to-do families who had always enjoyed abundance with regard to food and shelter—children who, as a matter of fact, had often been resentfully "overprotected" and in whose case "good" care covered up for intense rejection—these children took very much longer to conceive of the gratification offered at the treatment institution as anything desirable. Clinically speaking, their task was much more complex when compared to that of the "orphans." It was easier for the economically deprived children to change their outlook on life once—contrary to previous expectations—abundant gratification was regularly available. The same offer, and even its acceptance, remained ungratifying to the emotionally deprived children of well-to-do parents. Such offerings and whatever else was done for them were evaluated in terms of their old, pessimistic frame of reference and were, hence, of no positive value.

⁶ In Germany, it was not the middle-aged group of men who had served in the first World War, and many of whom had experienced great losses in the after-war years, who furnished Hitler with his most ardent followers, although the leader himself and his officers came from that group. The bulk of the middle-aged men, despite the

Viewed as a two-generation problem, most of the men in the sample were not second generation in terms of insecurity. They were born into relatively stable and, relatively speaking, more secure families and were well out of their most formative years before the depression hit their parents. During their own infancy, many of their parents had been very optimistic about the economic future. The impact of the depression shook some of the men while they were adolescents, both physically, in terms of lowered family income, and emotionally, due to parental fears and insecurity. Those who were already somewhat insecure due to previous experiences probably became fixed in their insecurity and pessimism; and they were the ones who became the more intolerant adults.

In this study an effort was made to establish the association between intolerance and isolated social, economic, and psychological factors; but the results should not be misconstrued as implying that these factors per se account for intolerance. On the contrary, they are only varying attributes of a total Gestalt, formed by the individual's total personality and the social structure in which he finds himself. The interplay between personality structure and those forces originating in the social field seemed to condition the presence, the absence, and the nature of intolerance.

Thus if the personality is very strong, or if, for particular personal reasons, the individual is strongly committed to tolerance or intolerance, the influence of the social field in respect to tolerance or intolerance is relatively small. The weaker the personality, the stronger becomes the influence of the social field. On the basis of a purely psychological hypothesis, namely that ethnic intolerance is nothing but a cathartic outlet for hostility, it might be assumed that catharsis could be effected by dis-

downward mobility they had generally experienced, manned the *Reichsbanner* and the *Stahlhelm* (the liberal and the conservative military organizations) and not the SS. In part, this can be explained by the fact that they had, in their childhood, experienced the relative stability which characterized Germany at the turn of the century; most of their families had in fact improved in economic status during those years.

The sons of these men had been infants when their fathers were away at war. Their early childhood was often characterized by instability; food had been scarce, and their mothers, in addition to worrying about their husbands, had been working in war factories to keep the family going. They were still boys or had grown into early adolescence when their own and their parents' hopes for a better life after the war were terribly shattered by inflation, deflation, and unemployment. As young men in the Thirties, they could not believe they would ever be able to secure a decent life for themselves through their own efforts. Therefore they had to rely on a strong "leader," a father figure, to give them the emotional and economic security which their own fathers had been unable to provide. They had also to discharge the frustrations and hostility which had accumulated over a long period of insecurity and suffering, if they wished to retain their tenuous integration. Explosive action against minorities was then a convenient outlet.

charging all hostility against a single group and that all other available groups could then go free. This study seems to show (and the combination of anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic feeling in certain southern areas seems to corroborate it) that the singling out of one group for hostile discharge seems to be ruled out by the social context.

The difference between anti-Jewish and anti-Negro attitudes, as it emerged in this study, also belies the assumption that ethnic intolerance is purely psychological in origin and hence beyond the reach of social reform. On the other hand, the association of intolerance with subjective rather than objective deprivation speaks against its purely social origin. Nor can the argument be accepted that ethnic intolerance cannot be dispensed with as an outlet for hostility. Hostility is continuously accumulating in the anxious and the insecure, and cannot be discharged in single or infrequent explosions. With rare exceptions it is not possible to discharge the accumulation of years of hostility, particularly if it did not originate in a particular person whose death or removal alone might yield a cathartic relief. Violent outbursts of ethnic intolerance are still so relatively rare, and provide so few of the intolerant men with direct or vicarious outlet, that the rationalization of the need for ethnic discrimination seems untenable. Moreover, it should be realized that while ethnic hostility only rarely provides full outlet for hostility, it frequently adds to already existing frustrations. Compared to the underlying hostility toward Jews and Negroes which some of the subjects revealed, the outlets of verbal animosity and an occasional physical aggression of little consequence seemed quite insufficient. On the other hand, a mental preoccupation with the hated minority together with a felt inability to do anything about it seemed to add more to the frustration of the very intolerant than it gave outlet for hostility.⁷ For these reasons it does not seem true that ethnic hostility is incorrigible because it originates in the hostile personality and is needed as an outlet. Less hostility and less continuous frustration would accumulate if the intolerant person were forced to recognize once and for all that this outlet was no longer available. Some intolerant men would have to find other outlets, but many others would learn to integrate those hostile tendencies which they now try forever and in vain to discharge against ethnic minorities.

⁷ In seeking to understand prejudice, tolerant persons who reject ethnic hostility for valid reasons, as well as ethnic minorities who suffer from discrimination, often fail to realize that intolerant persons labor under an undischarged hostility which accumulates in them precisely because they are prejudiced. They experience constant frustration since they feel unable to do anything about a minority which they experience as a threat.

On the other hand, it seems invalid to argue that intolerant personality structures can no longer be changed and that similar changes in the future could be achieved only through a different form of personality formation.

The German example has certainly shown that radical changes in the social order produced deep-reaching if not necessarily permanent or desirable changes in the personality, although one must admit that it seems easier to disintegrate personality structure than to influence it toward higher integration.⁸ Nevertheless, it is untrue to assume that nothing can be done about an existing generation and that all hopes for tolerance must rest with the future. Clinical experience also demonstrates that considerably greater and more permanently effective in producing modifications of personality structure than the extreme methods of National Socialism are those modifications of the environment which make it reassuring, secure, comprehensible, and thus manageable for the young individual. Such environments and their gentle but powerful challenge to identify with persons offering gratification and, therefore, to restrain hostility, produce changes in personality which are far-reaching indeed. This they do partly by reducing frustrations which derive from the environment, and partly by providing amply for all needs which can be satisfied. Under such conditions, little additional hostility is created, and existing or developing controls and powers of integration prove sufficient to contain it.⁹ As one of many indications, it suggests that environmental changes may well be able to produce changes in personality structure and hence in intolerance.

As long as there are personality structures which remain poorly integrated—first because of upbringing and later because of too much tension created by insecurity and frustration—and as long as the individual's upbringing prevents him from acquiring adequate controls, for so long will society have to offer outlets for the discharge of hostility. On the other hand, as long as society continues to permit or to condone such hostile discharge, the individual will not be forced to integrate his hostilities, or to control them.

⁸ For example, see Bettelheim, B.: "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 38: 417-452, 1943.

⁹ Even outside of deliberately planned environments, significant changes in personality structure due to changes in environment are constantly being observed. Among the most obvious but dramatic instances are the immigrants to this country who experienced far-reaching changes in personality during the process of adjusting to a socially and culturally different setting.

TOWARD THE FUTURE

The highest degrees of association established in this study were those between intolerance on the one hand and feelings of deprivation and downward social mobility on the other. The deprivations so highly associated with intolerance were not by and large of a predominantly private nature, such as having fallen out with one's family or being unable to have children, but ones very closely related to adverse economic experiences, or a fear of their recurrence.

Social mobility, in this study, has been measured by occupational position. Future changes in the industrial and administrative organization of our economy will partially determine new patterns of mobility. Of particular relevance will be those changes which result in the displacement of occupational groups. These trends, of course, are difficult to measure and hazardous to predict. To date, for example, there has been more speculation than data on the displacement of the middle classes. If such displacement were a fact, it would be extremely significant, not only for interethnic relations of the future but for political stability in general. Even more important is the contention that a general trend is developing toward the limitation of upward mobility in our society, although the picture in this respect is still confused, and far from being definite.

Economic apprehensions felt by men in the sample were shown to exist even before the actual onset of an economic depression. A sizable number of the veterans were beset by such anxieties during a period of high-level employment (at the time of the interview). While democratically minded individuals and organizations are well aware that another depression is likely to increase intolerance, they are not equally aware that rational appeals for tolerance which operate within the context of existing apprehensions are not likely to have lasting effects. These observations become even more pointed when one considers those findings in the study which indicate that even a shift from low to moderate apprehension about unemployment (let alone actual unemployment) may considerably increase the frequency and intensity of ethnic intolerance (see p. 80).

The economic goals of social action are thus clear: an adjusted annual wage to do away with fears of seasonal unemployment, stabilization of employment, and an extension of social security. In the absence of comprehensive and successful attempts to move in that direction, it remains doubtful whether programs oriented specifically toward interethnic issues are at all relevant for changing ethnic relations. But even if this economic program were to be carried out, it would remain insufficient unless a

change in the economic ethos took place at the same time. Self-respect and respect for the community must be divorced from upward social mobility, and continuous incitement by the media of mass communication toward the acquisition of new and more expensive commodities (as the tangible symbols of social status) must decrease. Otherwise, new desires are being constantly created which must as constantly be satisfied or lead to new frustration.

Perhaps more relevant, therefore, and open for immediate consideration is the evaluation of mobility and occupational status by the individual and by society. In terms of future planning, it might seem desirable to teach greater acceptance of the facts of occupational status and opportunity as they now exist in the United States, and social consensus ought to be built within that framework. Of course, downward mobility cannot and should not be made acceptable. But values concerned with occupational status which are a function of unbridled aspirations leave much to be desired. It is relevant, in this context, that intolerance was also rather concentrated in that small minority whose rate of upward mobility was higher than the "norm" for the sample. These men were more strongly motivated than the rest, in terms of social mobility—and they were more intolerant. In a democratic society, the goal of indoctrination cannot well be mere acceptance of one's occupational status. But education in relative values, an emphasis on the greater desirability of interpersonal, emotional, and cultural values may be highly in order. They may prove, in the final analysis, to be more satisfactory—given the minimum basis of an adequate standard of living—than unending competition. Moreover, these cultural values are more likely to entail demands for the integration of hostility than does the competitive spirit. If such goals seem utopian, then in a democratic society the demand should at least be raised that the mass media of communication reappraise the overwhelming emphasis on the glorification of high and unattainable occupational status and its associated values.¹⁰

Of course, the acceptance of one's occupational status, and the effort to gain self-esteem and a sense of personal worth in other than the economic sphere will be possible only if the individual feels assured of his economic position. In this connection it should not be overlooked that the intolerant men tended to reject the controlling institutions of society and also tended to fear unemployment, war, and so on. One may wonder if

¹⁰ One movie devoted to combatting anti-Semitism can hardly counteract the effects of countless others which raise the aspirations of its audience beyond any level they are likely to attain.

their attitudes toward societal institutions would have been as rejecting if they could have relied on society, through its institutions, to alleviate their economic fears.

The social and economic goals outlined above, although probably attainable without fundamental changes in the social structure, seem remote at the moment. That they seem far distant should not discourage one from looking toward social action as a principal means of alleviating intolerance. However, as a basis for social action designed to reduce ethnic intolerance, it should be recalled that the hypothesis linking tolerance to the submission to (if not acceptance of) the institutions of social control tended to be confirmed. Moreover, with the exception of the most intolerant, the vast majority of the veterans studied were ready and willing to obey law and order. Although the outspokenly intolerant men demanded more restrictive legislation, they too, by and large, were ready to abide by the law of the land. The greater overall degree of intolerance toward Negroes merely underscores this observation: anti-Semitism is less acceptable and is therefore less common. If the majority of the population, like the majority of the sample, submit to external control, then the task at hand is to change the complexion of these external controls as they relate to interethnic practices.

Among the sample, true independence of judgment on political, economic, religious, and social matters seemed as rare as in matters of ethnic relations. There, too, the men tended to follow the prevailing prejudices of their group. It was not as though ethnic relations was the only area of personal interaction which was comparatively less accessible to rational control. Such behavior has probably been typical for broad masses of the population at all times. The absence of integrated patterns in dealing with ethnic problems is nothing unique. Just as patterns of tolerance and intolerance seemed somewhat generalized in so far as those more tolerant of the Jews also tended to be more tolerant of the Negroes, so also, the patterns of revolt and control seemed also to be more or less generalized. Those men who were better able to control themselves, or more ready to accept or to submit to external control, did so not only with regard to tolerance, but also with regard to many other areas of social interaction.

With the waning of the influence of the church, the family, and other traditional forces, the legal system and its supporting institutions stand out as a basic symbol of external control. Even the dominant elements of the business community make every effort to perpetuate their group norms through the legal system. Of equal importance are the courts and

the local police system which are accepted as the personalization of certain aspects of the law. Over and above all these institutions stands the growing power of the state with its external control of the individual in most of his public and much of his private activities. The growth of state power arises from the declining ability of the various segments of industrialized society to regulate themselves. The state thereby becomes a basic source of norms and operates its power to a significant degree through legal channels. Thus the law and the courts stand within our legal system as an immediate focal point for changing some of the basic norms of interpersonal contact outside the primary group, including those of interethnic relations. This is especially significant for those members of society who rely mainly on external authority for the source of their norms.¹¹ Litigation in 1948 over restrictive covenants clearly indicates some of the potentialities of this source of change.

The legal alteration of norms and their interpretation by the courts does not of course imply that legal decisions will establish the basis for a new consensus on interethnic relations. The long-range effects of abolishing restrictive covenants are not at all certain, for legal norms are essentially negative and minimal in import. The ability of the southern states to circumvent the white primary decisions of the Supreme Court stands as a classic example. But in a legalistic society such as ours, the legal decision is still a basic and powerful weapon for social change.

How new laws, or the new and different interpretation of existing laws are received, depends largely on how the people are prepared for such changes. On the whole, the educational system (like the law) has tended to reflect rather than to set the norms of our society. Recently, though, there have been signs of dissatisfaction with this situation and some tendencies toward greater initiative can be observed. There is little doubt that at present, education provides the most hopeful long-term approach for changing interethnic relations—though not necessarily education which takes the form of exhortation. But education which supplies only factual information will be of little value, unless there already exists in the person to be educated a frame of mind which permits him to accept this information in line with the intentions of the educator. For example, statements as to the basic similarity of whites and Negroes will be of no value—and may even create the boomerang of greater resistance—to the person who feels that nothing is more basic than outer appearance, ac-

¹¹ According to the observations of a social scientist who did group educational work with juvenile offenders in the 1947 interracial housing riots, the argument which most impressed the young rock-throwers of South Chicago was what the Supreme Court had to say about equal rights in the protection of property.

ceptance by society, or economic success. His own experience tells him that in the question of basic characteristics the Negro is obviously different; his skin is dark, he is not accepted in society, and is notoriously handicapped in economic affairs. The argument that personality characteristics which the educator has in mind, such as willingness to serve others or to live by correct moral values, are equally common among white people and Negroes will have little strength if the values of the intolerant are based chiefly or solely on economic success. The argument will only convince him that the educator does not understand what is really important, and this conviction—defensive as it may be—will prompt him to discount all further statements by the educator.

Education for better ethnic relations must reach deeper levels than can be touched by factual information. Education for ethnic tolerance must influence "basic" personality traits, such as tendencies to view life experiences as rewarding rather than deprivational. This can best be achieved when the influence of such education makes itself felt during the process of personality formation. In considering the latter, we have moved to some degree from the area of social institutions to that of psychological influences originating in the private sphere. Education as a formal social institution and an influence on the young seems thus to stand between society at large and the individual just ready to enter society from the shelter of the family group.

Education for tolerance must reach the child before he is of school age since that is the age during which the rudimentary personality is first formed and those tendencies first developed which become more rigid as the individual approaches the age of maturity.

In our society, generally speaking, the hostile discharge of tension is not too rigorously inhibited. Individuals do what they can to free themselves of their tensions through discharge unless, during their formative years, they have acquired the ability to store, or to integrate them. Moreover, only a limited amount of the excess tension which can neither be stored nor integrated is discharged into socially acceptable channels, and of this, the most frequently chosen form is that of interpersonal hostility. (It should be stressed that interethnic hostility is a borderland between socially acceptable and unacceptable means of discharging hostility interpersonally.) Hence to promote the tendency to restrain discharge of hostility only if it is directed in socially unacceptable channels is dangerous from the point of view of tolerance, since it is society which predicates what is socially acceptable. Once society has decreed that interethnic hostility is acceptable—instead of overlooking, denying, or

condoning it—then tension will be freely discharged into interethnic hostility, as was demonstrated by the German example and by wartime attitudes toward the Nisei. Tolerant attitudes will be assured only if the vast majority of the population tends to deal with their tensions by storage or integration rather than by discharge.

The formation of such tendencies, one way or another, takes place in early childhood, during the age of personality formation. At this age the child receives the imprint of early experiences and his patterns of interpersonal relationships are prepared for the future. As an adult, he may copy or recreate the interpersonal patterns experienced during childhood or he may prefer those of an opposite nature in a reaction-formation against unpleasant early experiences; or finally he may combine these and other reactions into still another pattern. At this early age, when the techniques of relationships are acquired, the young child is also encountering all those difficulties which are connected with exploring and understanding the outer world, and of learning to master his inner tensions. These problems, and many others simultaneously experienced, can be eased, and the tensions created by them reduced to a manageable level, if the child feels sufficiently protected by gratifying—and hence most reassuring—interpersonal relationships. Only then will the child learn to recognize that he can master his own inner tensions by integration, and that hostile discharge is not only unnecessary but also undesirable, since it interferes with a highly valued interpersonal relationship to a parent. On the other hand, if this relationship is not gratifying, there is little reason for learning control and the child first manifests hostility toward his parent and later toward others. Eventually, under the latter conditions, immediate hostile discharge may be established as the preferred relief for inner difficulties.¹²

¹² Prevalent attitudes held by many parents who fear their children may not succeed in this competitive society, run directly counter to sound psychological behavior. The small boy who runs to his mother because he has been hurt in a street fight is often sent back without the comfort he asked for and is told to go back and stand his ground. Actually, because of his defeat, he has already been swamped by unmasterable tension, which he expressed in his tears, and has come to his mother to help him in integrating these tensions; i.e., his behavior, in effect, seems to say: "I have been defeated, but you, through your action, can show me this was not an important defeat, since you, the most important person in the world, remain unaffected by it. If you show me that this was an unimportant event, I'll be able to integrate my tension." The mother who sends her son back to fight, forces him into hostile discharge of a tension which is now truly beyond his ability to master, since rejection by the mother, or at least the absence of her protection, is now added to the initial defeat. This is only one example of how the child's natural tendencies toward integration (which he realizes is the safer way, since he does not know whether aggressiveness may not lead to a more serious defeat) are thwarted and he is directed back toward hostile discharge of his tensions against others.

The individual who has learned in his childhood that emotional difficulties can be relieved through gratifying interpersonal relationships within the family circle will in all likelihood grow into a mature person who will seek and find relief in the sphere of his private relations from the tensions accumulating in the outside world. Moreover, he is probably an individual who as a child has experienced respect by those around him. Therefore, later in life, he will rely less for his self-respect on the whims and favors of foremen, or on promotions handed down by the boss. Since he finds self-assurance within himself and his family, economic and political dependency on outsiders will be less of a threat and hence create fewer tensions.¹³ Finally, he will probably be able to seek gratification for his self-esteem in self-chosen activities of a cultural or social nature in which he can engage in relative independence of what others may think.

By contrast, an individual who has not been able to develop a well-integrated personality will take advantage of any opportunity which offers itself for the hostile discharge of tension, since discharge he must have. He will be intolerant of those groups against whom hostility may safely be directed, including ethnic minorities; the evidence of this and other studies indicates that propaganda for tolerance of itself will remain largely ineffectual in changing the basic patterns of his behavior. Economic, political, and interpersonal insecurities, lack of self-respect, and the absence of meaningful life activities will continue to create unmanageable tensions. Those tensions created through insecurity in interpersonal relationships are themselves a major factor in intolerance. No interpersonal relationship, including love, can withstand the destructive consequences of inadequate controls. Modern life invariably creates tensions, and if they are discharged against the love partner, love is soon destroyed and frustration in the most private sphere adds its weight to all others.

¹³ The question may be raised as to how such a personality structure would affect a democracy. Would it make for greater autonomy and independence of judgment (and therefore an active and responsible electorate) or would satisfaction with life in the private sphere foster indifference to public affairs (and therefore a citizenry easily manipulated for good or for ill)? Such people might tend to remain unexcited by societal issues which they would consider in a matter-of-fact fashion. On the other hand, their self-respect and sense of justice would force them—possibly despite an initial hesitation to enter the political arena—to fight for the autonomy of the individual, that is, against regimentation or injustice, and for democracy. In this fight they would be more effective than those who are motivated—and handicapped—by anxiety or social resentment. In any event, we have not yet known a society of wholly autonomous individuals, so that all speculation on this question remains hazardous.

Tolerance propaganda, if at all effective, may persuade an individual to abandon one outlet for hostility. But while this may result in the protection of a particular minority, the matter does not end there. If the new ways of discharging tensions are not more desirable from a social point of view, then the efforts of the tolerance propaganda have been wasted. Moreover, mere changes in outlet are easily reversible. A temporary end to the flow of tolerance propaganda, less watchfulness on the part of controlling institutions, an increase in intolerance propaganda, or simply an increase in the tensions which press for discharge, may all undo such tenuous redirection of hostility. But even redirection is difficult to achieve, since the discrimination of each minority serves its particular function in the psychic economy of the intolerant. (See Chapters III and VIII for a discussion of this problem.)

A more important social objective seems to be to eliminate the psychological need to discharge hostility. In this connection the ego-bolstering aspects of ethnic discrimination should not be overlooked. To some degree, it is also this element which makes it attractive even to well-educated persons and to polite society. By the same token, ethnic intolerance becomes acceptable to men whose integration would forbid them to project unacceptable tendencies onto minorities, or to those who would never accuse minorities of behavior which is either common to all men or the result of discrimination. While these men do not necessarily discriminate against members of the minority, they enjoy a vague feeling of superiority, for ethnic discrimination seems to indicate there are others below them. In the case of the actively intolerant person, this feeling is often initially developed out of an unconscious fear of social inferiority. Nothing outrages an individual more than efforts to convince him of his equality with the discriminated group, because they deprive him of the mechanism he has developed for retaining self-respect and without which he cannot maintain his integration. Against such threats he must defend himself as best he can.¹⁴

¹⁴ The behavior of SS guards in German concentration camps tended to follow such patterns. If prisoners of an "inferior" race, particularly Jews, groveled before an SS guard they succeeded only in arousing his disgust. After having made sport of such prisoners, he often exterminated them soon enough. Feeling superior to people so obviously inferior was no boon to his self-respect. If, on the other hand, such prisoners made him feel their actual superiority, or showed him up in his ignorance, he became violently angry because he was being deprived of his much-needed feeling of superiority. Such prisoners were often killed on the spot. But a prisoner who showed through his behavior that he was a man of some value—who without fawning or arrogance accepted the SS guard as his superior in a matter-of-fact way—was as safe as any person could be in a concentration camp. As a matter of fact, with individual guards, such a Jewish prisoner often fared much better than a too subservient German pris-

The problem of mitigating interethnic hostility from the point of view of the individual's personality-formation reduces itself to a twofold approach: the provision of more adequate discharge of tension and the development of more integrated personalities. Persons of more adequate integration would not only be able to manage relatively large amounts of tension, but their ego strength and self-esteem would no longer depend on vicarious, external support. These suggestions parallel those mentioned earlier, in the field of social action. Ethnic tolerance presupposes a societal structure which generates less tension in the individual, which controls their discharge more adequately, and which, most important of all, permits the development of integrated personalities of adequate ego strength. This it does by not confronting individuals with unattainable or contradictory goals, and by not creating desires which can rarely be satisfied.

The less reliable of these two psychological approaches is the provision of more adequate outlets for the discharge of tension. Present-day society, and particularly the mores of the group studied, approves in the main of only one such outlet: successful competition. The less likely the chances grow for success, the more this once possible outlet turns into a source of additional tension. True, there is another mode of discharging tension which is also accepted by society, namely discharge through motility. Biogenetically speaking this is the first form of discharge, and in the temper tantrum the young child uses it to explode all unmasterable tension. As the individual grows up, the integrative tendencies of the ego no longer permit such random motility and it is sublimated into sports and similar activities. Unfortunately, even in sports, where the only purpose should be discharge of tension through motility, competition creeps in, which brings additional tensions to all but the winners. Moreover, the conception of sports as a direct participation activity is too often replaced by that of passive observation by the spectator.¹⁵ The professionalization

oner. (A German prisoner who displayed his superiority over an SS guard wrote his own death warrant no less than a Jew.) The reason was that only a man who showed his worth and nevertheless accepted the SS man's superiority—a man who knew his place and kept it—only such a man could provide the SS guard with the emotional experience he needed for maintaining his self-respect. Only then could the guard enjoy the conviction that he was actually superior to a man in whose case such superiority really meant something.

¹⁵ In this way the temper tantrum as a total experience of screaming and moving is then separated into the moving of the performers and the shouting of the spectators, which offers little enough relief to any of the latter. (With the growing popularity of television, currently most valued for the transmission of sporting events, the role of the spectator is even further reduced. Without the support of the crowds at the stadium a man would perhaps feel foolish rooting enthusiastically in his own parlor.)

of performers discourages the public at large from personal efforts, which often seem ludicrous to the individual when compared to those of the performing expert. Even more basic from the point of view of relief through motility is the increasing mechanization of the modern factory system. The endless repetition of movements in a mechanical way creates more tension than can safely be discharged through their means.¹⁶

According to psychoanalytical theory, the main adult avenue for the discharge of tension is that of interpersonally gratifying sexual relations.¹⁷ The same body of theories maintains that anxiety (which was found to be strongly associated with intolerance) is a direct or indirect consequence of inhibited sexuality. It may seem doubtful, in a society as complex as ours and with its countless sources of anxiety, whether all tensions can actually be discharged in sexual activity. But there seems little doubt that if two people enjoy a mutually gratifying sexual relationship, under normal circumstances the remaining tensions can be integrated with relatively greater ease.

Even the most adequate provisions for the discharge of tension into socially acceptable channels will not do away with the hostility which underlies ethnic intolerance, but might go a long way toward mitigating its more violent features. Propaganda and planning for direct rather than vicarious discharge of tensions through motility seems feasible and might provide some relief of those forces which otherwise press for interpersonal discharge. More difficult to approach or to modify are patterns of sexual discharge. Sexual activities, however, which are accompanied by feelings of guilt or anxiety often create more tensions than they relieve. There seems little doubt that the dissemination of adequate information about contemporary sexual practices might tend to decrease anxiety in those who for personal reasons prefer to engage in nongenital, nonheterosexual, or extramarital sexual activities. Such decrease in anxiety may be

¹⁶ Before the era of mechanization, occupations such as farming used to provide almost unlimited possibilities for the discharge of tension through motility, except that the hard labor then required precluded any relief. Thus while modern conveniences, for the first time in the history of technology, have provided relief from exhaustion, technology itself deprives work of nearly all its potentials for discharge of tension. In addition, it creates new and formerly unknown tensions through the blow to their self-respect which human beings experience when they are degraded to perform with the regularity and repetitiousness of a tool.

¹⁷ The qualification "interpersonally gratifying" should be emphasized. Frequently it is assumed that sexual discharge in itself constitutes release. This is by no means so. Intercourse frequently has an aggressive rather than a benign meaning and is little concerned with seeking the partner's permanent love through gratifying his sexual desires. Sexual relations entered mainly for the purpose of demonstrating one's superiority, or of testing one's virility, will provide neither partner with total release from tension and may well create additional anxiety or hostility.

achieved by showing such individuals that they are not alone in their deviation, and indirectly by perhaps leading to a more tolerant attitude in those who as vocation or avocation persecute the deviate individual.

Perhaps more fruitful in the elimination of ethnic intolerance would be efforts leading toward more integrated personalities. The discharge of tension depends mainly on societal factors, and can easily be interfered with by society; recent history has demonstrated how rapidly such societal changes can now be engineered. But the individual's ability to integrate his tensions is relatively independent of societal interference. That requires fundamental changes in the structure of the personality of the individual. On the basis of our present knowledge such changes can hardly be achieved in the mature individual, at least not short of psychotherapy, and even that is successful only in selected cases. Hence to attack ethnic intolerance from the point of view of personality formation seems to require social action that will insure that the personalities of the next generation are so structured that they have a maximum ability to integrate tensions and are ready and able to discharge the remainder in ways that are not harmful to outgroups. The building up of such personalities must begin at birth and must continue through adolescence; as a point of departure there is little doubt that the most important task would be to influence those who mould the child in his earliest, most formative years. This is obviously not the place for a treatise on child rearing. It should be repeated, however, that the men who recalled their childhood as having been happy tended to be the most tolerant.

In our society, an increasing number of parents are genuinely interested in problems of child rearing. The educator does not need to go after such parents, they seek him out if they have any hope that he will relieve their anxieties about whether they are bringing their children up properly and whether they are good parents. More and more parents, for example, are discarding the rigid feeding schedules imposed by so-called experts, for more flexible behavior in which they follow the natural leads given by the child. As a result, both parent and child derive much gratification from the change. The parents have thus freed themselves of a prejudice which interfered with their enjoying their children, and the child is protected from a source of possibly permanent anxiety.¹⁸ Parents who permit the child to regulate his life according to his own rhythm of

¹⁸ Of course when other experts continually threaten the parent through the means of mass communication by inferring that unless he gives his child this or that new food preparation the child's health will not be what it should, then the parent who cannot afford buying all new items on the market is thrown into anxiety which affects his relation to his child.

growth and intellectual development have made great strides toward developing integrated personalities in their children. They are also learning to eliminate the threatening "wait till father comes home" attitude which destroyed the optimistic hope in many children that their next life experience would be a pleasant one.

These examples may show that even without centrally planned and directed efforts, progress in child rearing is being made toward the development of more integrated persons. If society does not thwart these efforts by increasing the tensions to be integrated even faster than the efforts to shape more integrated personalities are proceeding, then the modern methods of child rearing will produce some effects. But these changes in child rearing must truly reach the large masses of the population if such an end is to be accomplished.

In any case it seems simpler, and more feasible, to influence parental attitudes toward children, when compared with the efforts needed for assuring a stable economy free from the fear of war and unemployment.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that efforts to modify parental attitudes will remain ineffectual in their most important aspects if they proceed outside of direct interpersonal context. Interpersonal techniques are not learned from books, or by listening to radio performances, nor even by listening to lectures. Interpersonal relations by definition are two-way relations either between student and teacher or among students themselves. Techniques applied according to the best prescriptions only mechanize mother-child relations instead of vitalizing them unless these techniques have been acquired through a process of living.¹⁹

¹⁹ Discussion groups for expectant mothers and mothers of small children have proved quite successful in modifying their attitudes. They had to be congenial groups, and had to meet regularly for many months. Only then could what was initially just the prescription of a so-called expert become a mutually gratifying process of living. In one such group a recurrent anxiety of the mothers was the fear that their babies were not eating enough. It was only with reluctance that they accepted the advice of the group leader who suggested that whatever the eating habits of their children might be, forcing them to eat much, or what were considered vitally needed fares, would not produce the desired effect, and that being less fearful might prove more successful. But at first, forcing the child to eat was only exchanged for tense watching to see whether he would eat when he was not being forced. Only after some of the general fears connected with bringing up children had been worked through—particularly after such fears as whether the mother would be recognized as a good mother by her husband, her own mother, or her mother-in-law were repeatedly discussed—did it become possible to return to the mother's basic fear about the child's health. Then it was also possible to deal with her fear more realistically, by asking, for example, what the child's weight was, and how it related to norms of weight. The amusement of the group as a whole increased when, month after month, mothers admitted that their "noneating" babies were either perfectly normal in weight or a bit over the norm. The mutual interest of mothers in this group for one another's problems was a demonstration that the interpersonal techniques they had acquired at the meetings were being immediately applied in life situations.

These remarks in brief outline can do no more than indicate the direction in which efforts to combat ethnic intolerance might be guided. They seem far too tentative to be formally summarized, as though they were recommendations which should follow with logical stringency from the objective data and the critical evaluations forming the bulk of this report. This study, in the end, was but an investigation of existing attitudes, and not one of plans for future policy in interethnic relations.

It is our conviction that better ethnic relations are possible within our society, and that modern education, particularly the education of the small child, could be so improved that fewer of them would need to mature into intolerant adults. If we bring our children up wisely they will not only be happier, but will also be able to live more successfully with one another. That it seems possible to raise a generation which will be relatively free of ethnic intolerance is not only a hope, but a real possibility, and hence a great challenge.

Man's best hope is still the next generation. But the challenge of controlling personality development should not be used for a diversion of efforts from a comprehensive and immediate program of social reform. If we succeed in achieving both social reform and education for personal integration, we shall not only have better ethnic relations, but also a better society. The one cannot be had without the other.

A P P E N D I X

- I. THE INTERVIEW
- II. SAMPLING PROCEDURE
- III. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEW SITUATION
- IV. DEFINING THE PATTERNS OF INTOLERANCE
- V. RELIABILITY OF ANALYTIC PROCEDURES
- VI. SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
- VII. SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

I. THE INTERVIEW

This study was based on the so-called "open-ended interview." In this type of interview the questions are designed to stimulate the respondent to reply not with "yes" or "no" or a short factual statement, but to give a fairly elaborated response. If the respondent does not voluntarily offer additional associative material, probes are used to evoke it.

The use of this type of intensive interview, and the requirements of a systematic analysis of its contents made it essential that the interview situations be as highly comparable as possible. Care had to be taken that efforts at standardization were not so rigid that they interfered with the flow of associative material, or with keeping the interviewee interested and in good rapport. The elements of the interview situation singled out for the standardization were: (1) the person of the interviewer, (2) the method of approaching the subject, (3) the place of the interview, (4) the method of asking the predetermined questions and of probing for associative material, and (5) the technique for recording the entire interview. The time period during which the interviews took place was reasonably short so that changes in the political and economic situation or in other world events would be held constant for all members of the sample.

1. *Person of the Interviewer.* An effort was made to use as few interviewers as possible so that this factor too might be kept fairly constant. Because each interview and its recording took a long time and because by spreading the interviews over many weeks another extraneous factor would have been introduced, it was necessary to use six interviewers. The interviewers were all women from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age. Because of the character of the interview situation, it is possible that there was at least one area of life experience in which the veterans' attitudes were not fully revealed, namely their attitudes toward wives or girl friends. However, this was an area of relatively low significance in the context of this study.

At the outset, all the interviewers were made aware of the problem of their own bias in a series of group discussions on the schedule. At the same time, they were given an opportunity to express their opinions on ethnic attitudes and other matters to be discussed at the interviews. During the trial run of interviews great emphasis was placed on the control and elimination of interview bias, and a study of the final interview records showed no evidence of consistent bias.

2. *Method of Approaching Subjects.* A standardized procedure for establishing contact with the veteran was employed. (See pages 12-13.) During the initial contact a number of veterans asked why they had been selected. The standard answer was that the names selected for the survey were picked at random from lists of veterans. In fact, the veterans were told that every ninetieth veteran (which was the sample) was being interviewed; in virtually all cases this allayed suspicions.

3. *Place of the Interview.* The majority of the interviews took place at the homes of the interviewees. Where this was not appropriate, the subject was interviewed in a private office, at the downtown branch of the University. In the latter case, continued privacy so essential for successful interviewing was assured. When the veteran was interviewed in his home, rapport was simple to maintain because the subject felt more at ease in the familiar surroundings, but making sure of complete and continued privacy was more difficult. When interviewed at the University office, some veterans felt more self-conscious during the initial portion of the interview.

4. *Method of Asking Questions and Probing for Associations.* Basically, the interview (pages 213-219) consisted of over 160 standardized questions. In addition, twenty-four factual questions were asked. The standardized procedure for administering the questions contained the following elements: Each fixed question was asked in a verbatim fashion. If no answer was forthcoming, it was repeated in the original form. Partial answers were followed by neutral probes for fuller responses. (A neutral probe was a colorless phrase, ranging from "huh" to "what do you mean by that?" or the repetition of a phrase used by the veteran himself.) Certain questions were always carried further by neutral probes because of their special importance for the study. If at any point in the interview, whether by association or after probing on the part of the interviewer, the subject brought forth irrelevant material he was not interrupted but permitted to continue as long as he wished. If he produced material which was irrelevant to the questions, but relevant to the objectives of the interview, the interviewer was instructed to encourage the fullest responses by means of probes.

5. *Recording the Interview.* A complete interview transcript based on the interviewer's stenographic notes made during the interview was prepared immediately after the interview. The transcript included a report on each of the neutral probes, and which of the questions had had to be repeated. Material offered spontaneously by the subject was recorded in that section of the interview where it was offered. Later, such material was cross-referenced to the question it was more closely related to, so that the content analysis of each question might be exhaustive.

6. *Timing of Interviews.* Many questions dealing with political events were asked in order to gain added indications of the nature of the subject's anxiety and the character of his hostilities. Such questions dealt with problems of price control, the occupation of Japan and Germany, relief for war-devastated nations, and the like. Since opinions on these problems are subject to rapid change as objective conditions also change, an effort was made to conclude all interviews within a short span of time. Some factors were beyond the control of the interviewers and interfered somewhat with this objective. For instance, interviewees broke or postponed appointments. The interviews began on April 1, 1946 and were completed in June of that year—a time span of three months.

II. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The sampling procedure was designed to yield a random sample of male army veterans of enlisted rank who were residents of the city of Chicago. Special definitions were introduced to delimit the population and to make the sample more homogeneous.

1. Veterans who were officers were eliminated since their war experiences were sharply at variance with those of the enlisted men. Moreover, most of them came from social and economic backgrounds which differed from those of the enlisted men.

2. Naval and marine personnel were excluded since the basis of their recruitment and their wartime experiences were sharply at variance with those of enlisted soldiers. Members of the women's auxiliary services were likewise excluded.

3. Men over thirty-five years of age were not included. This was necessary because the definition of overage in the army varied greatly as draft procedures were altered. By selecting men up to the age of thirty-five, it was not necessary to deal with those men whose army careers were limited simply to a stay within the continental United States until the rules for overaged men were changed.

4. A veteran was arbitrarily defined as a soldier who had been in the army for at least six months. It was felt that service for a shorter period of service would have been too brief for a man to have developed common identifications and to have shared experiences common to the rest of the sample.

5. Members of those main ethnic groups onto whom hostility is most often projected were not included; that is, Negroes, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans. No attempt was made to eliminate other ethnic or nationality groups which find themselves subject to varying degrees of prejudice. As a result, the following distribution of ethnic origin (father's origin) was encountered:

TABLE 1(A)
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC ORIGIN AMONG THE SAMPLE

| | Number | Percentage |
|------------------|--------|------------|
| Poland | 31 | 21 |
| Ireland | 27 | 18 |
| Germany; Austria | 18 | 12 |
| Italy | 18 | 12 |
| Great Britain | 14 | 9 |
| Czechoslovakia | 8 | 5 |
| The Balkans | 7 | 5 |
| Other | 27 | 18 |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

6. The length of time between demobilization and the date of interview was held as constant as possible. To test some of the hypotheses it was essential that the veteran should have had some opportunity to face the problems of adjustment to civilian life. The timing of discharge from the United States Army

made it advisable that for the purposes of this study sampling should begin after August, 1945, since before that time only wounded soldiers and a very small number of combat troops had been discharged. It was about August, 1945 that mass discharges began. The sampling period was therefore limited to August through November, 1945, and the interviews were carried out six to eight months after discharge.

The sampling technique employed was to obtain a random sample falling within these definitions. This was made possible by the existence of a central file of photostatic copies of veterans' discharge records which was maintained by the Recorder of Cook County (which included the city of Chicago). At the time of discharge from the United States Army, each veteran was issued a certificate attesting to his service in the armed forces. It was impressed on the veteran that in order to legally complete his discharge, it was necessary to register a copy of his discharge certificate with the appropriate civilian authorities. The process of actually depositing a copy with the Recorder was a voluntary one. No data were available on the number of veterans who failed to comply with this routine, but statements by draft officials indicated that the County Records were almost complete except perhaps for a small margin of deviants.

During the period sampled more than 15,000 veterans registered their discharge papers. Tabulations of a random sampling of these records showed that one-third of this number were outside of the sample because of branch of service, age, sex, officer status, or the like. Therefore it was decided to select at random one out of every ninety of the total veteran population, or one out of every sixty veterans falling within the definitions of the sample.

The discharge records in the County Recorder's office are filed serially by date of registration and without any special classification system that might tend to introduce a bias in random sampling. Therefore, every ninetieth case was examined. If the case fell within the limits of the sample, it was noted as a respondent to be interviewed; if not then the next case was taken. By this method enough names were drawn to fill the sample and to replace the refusals.

Every effort was made to keep to the original sample although certain problems obviously prevented achieving such a goal. The interviewing staff was instructed to carry out at least three attempts (including home visits) to locate and communicate with each subject. It was found that most of the failures to obtain total compliance arose not from refusal, but from the fact that veterans who had registered their discharge papers in Chicago had moved to other cities. In all, total compliance failed by about 14 per cent due to refusals and other such reasons.

One special problem presented itself in connection with the elimination of members of ethnic minorities. Negroes were readily eliminated since their discharge records bore that information. Chinese and Japanese names were quite readily discernible. In the case of Jews keys to ethnic identity are not clear-cut. Though their number was slight, they presented a problem, especially since the interviewer could make no slightest attempt to discover whether they were Jewish or not during the initial contacting. Therefore, little was done to eliminate them from the sample; instead, the interviewer was instructed that

if during the course of the interview, it emerged that the subject was a Jew, the interview was to be terminated. Two such interviews occurred and these subjects were replaced.

III. COMMENTS ON THE INTERVIEW SITUATION

Social researchers have often advocated gathering data on the respondents' own view of the interview as a further aid in evaluating attitude data. To obtain such data is frequently difficult, and particularly so at the end of a long interview, when the subject is beginning to tire. For one-third of the sample, however, an adequate opportunity was provided for such inquiry during the course of a follow-up study.

In this second interview a number of general questions were asked to determine what meaning the subject attributed to the interview. There was a wide variation of responses ranging from expressions of genuine satisfaction with the cathartic aspects of the interview to outright suspicion of the whole procedure. In general, however, it appeared that the occurrence and procedures of attitude surveying had become relatively familiar to the public at large. Therefore, a survey which sought generally to inquire into the personal problems as well as a wide complex of public attitudes of the subject was accepted rather matter-of-factly with an admixture of interest or indifference. The element of indifference arose from the feeling expressed by a minority of the subjects that few or no practical results would be forthcoming generally, or for themselves in particular.

TABLE 2(A)
VETERANS' REACTIONS TO THE INTERVIEW

| | Tolerant | Intolerant to some Degree | Total |
|--------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------|-------|
| | No. | No. | No. |
| Positive affect toward the interview | 8 | 12 | 20 |
| Neutral | 14 | 11 | 25 |
| Negative | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Other | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | 26 | 30 | 56 |

In all, fifty-six veterans answered questions on their conception of the interview situation. Their reactions to the interview were classified as: (a) positive, (b) negative, or (c) showing mild interest to indifference. Only seven men were manifestly negative in their reactions. The above Table 2(A) presents the responses of the subjects according to their degree of anti-Semitism. It is interesting to note that the interview situation was viewed negatively to a higher degree by those veterans who displayed greater amounts of intolerance.

Suspicion as to the purpose of the interview was limited to intolerant veterans and does not therefore appear to have interfered with their expression of intolerance. Typical were such responses as:

"At first I was kind of leery about answering questions. You figure you got freedom of speech, but sometimes you wonder."

"I really don't know what. I think there's more behind it—some organization or political party is behind it. Everything has a purpose—just like the army—if we wanted to take an objective we didn't go straight to it, but a roundabout way. I think this is the same thing."

In one case, suspicion was mixed with general confusion:

"Well, I'll tell you—some of these questions were rather stupid. Such as how to keep industry going, and another, what we thought of our officers. If we told half of what we thought we'd be shot for treason."

Manifest statements of positive attitudes, which were three times as numerous as negative ones, were more evenly distributed between tolerant and intolerant veterans. Some veterans experienced the relief of catharsis and said as much:

"It lets you get off your mind what you think of army life and the rest of the problems. I think you should have more questions on the army, their way of living, etc. There's too much difference between the officers and the enlisted men."

More important in explaining a clear positive reaction were statements of twelve veterans who felt it was proper and useful to interview veterans in order to give expression to their needs and wants. For example:

"I guess it's a good idea to find out what the different fellows think. If more people thought about things and tried to do something, it would be better. But the trouble is nobody cares about anything."

Here was a man who according to the interview seemed lost and aimless; nevertheless, he not only felt that the interview offered an opportunity for self-expression, but that it proved somebody was interested in him. Another said:

"I think it's very good, like I talk to my friends. We agree on a lot of things, but we don't always agree. . . . I think all sorts of things to find out what people are thinking are a good thing."

In one case, a veteran showed considerable objectivity in his response. He reversed the procedure indicating that the interview helped clarify civilian opinion for him.

"It's interesting to know what the people want to know about the veteran."

In a sample this size, it was to be expected that at least one man would point out:

"I imagine most universities want to publish some sort of findings. Someone's always working up something like that, wanting to publish

some sort of findings—a cross section of what groups think of sundry questions.”

Finally, it should be noted that the intense anti-Semites merely took these questions as an additional opportunity to verbalize their hostility.

“And from all indications, it would seem the country itself thinks there’s a racial problem in the U. S. Most of your questions are foolish. I’ll bet they’ll only come to one conclusion; there’s only one thing to do—shoot the Jews.”

And:

“Well I’m not sorry I answered. I gave my true opinions and I’m not afraid of what I said. After all, the nigger knows they’ll always be crucified—and why. I’m not against talking to niggers and Jews—I have several times—I talk to them at work and joke with them, but as for living next door to them or going around with them, I can’t see that.”

IV. DEFINING THE PATTERNS OF INTOLERANCE

In analyzing the interview for expressions of hostility, a clear distinction could be made between descriptive statements and demands for restrictions against a particular group. Despite the value judgments they contained, statements such as the following were considered descriptive:

“The Negroes smell badly regardless of the amount of soap they use; it’s just a physical difference between them and us white people.”

or

“The Jews always seem to get to the top; and that’s because they stick together and help one another.”

Quite different from these were demands for aggressive action such as the following:

“The way to solve the Jewish problem is to get a Hitler over here, and then forget about the whole business once and for all.”

Negative descriptions and stereotypes about minorities might appear with or without restrictive demands. However, restrictive demands against a minority almost never appear without negative descriptions and stereotypes. In evaluating restrictive demands it was noted whether they emerged spontaneously or only on question.

In order to determine the types of anti-Semitic attitudes which could be sampled by the interview instrument, a series of interviews were conducted with a group of veterans not included in the final sample. These interviews revealed, as far as anti-Semitic attitudes were concerned, that it would be useful to isolate four types of attitude patterns which would form a continuum from tolerance to intolerance. These attitude patterns were called: *tolerant*, *stereotyped anti-Semitic*, *outspokenly anti-Semitic*, and *intensely anti-Semitic*.

This method of classification took into consideration the frequency of stereotypes, the presence or absence of restrictive demands, and whether they were spontaneously elicited. All four types are defined in Chapter II, page 13.

In the light of the preliminary study, the interview was so constructed that the various patterns of ethnic intolerance could be delimited with precision and objectivity. For example, if the intensely anti-Semitic subject was to be differentiated from the outspokenly anti-Semitic one on the basis that his restrictive demands revealed themselves more spontaneously, then it became important to decide at which point in the interview restrictive statements were no longer considered to be spontaneous but to be elicited. Similarly, the question arose as to where the line should be drawn between the tolerant and the stereotyped anti-Semite, for even the most tolerant person is not entirely free of occasionally stereotyped thinking in problems of interethnic relations.

In order to allow for spontaneous expression of intolerance, the initial part of the interview was free of direct questions on ethnic minorities. Five indirect questions which made no specific mention of ethnic minorities were included; these questions were designed to permit the subject to reveal spontaneous hostile demands against minority groups. Questions in the central portion of the interview were designed to evoke stereotyped thinking on interethnic problems if such thought-patterns were present. The final section included ten direct questions enabling the subject to express a preference for restricting minority groups. Responses to these questions made it possible to differentiate between the various types of intolerance and to determine whether the veterans were persistent and consistent in their tolerance attitudes.

The responses to these questions and the subjects' spontaneous ethnic statements and stereotypes were listed on a continuum. This permitted grouping of their responses, on the basis of our definitions, as falling into the class of the intense, the outspoken, the stereotyped, or the tolerant veterans. Within each category the traits were arranged in terms of the order of their appearance in the interview. It then became possible to construct an overall chart. This chart was designed to present the full range of statements about ethnic groups and to include frequency data for those attitude traits which had a frequency occurrence. (See charts B and C which present the data in summary form.) The chart provided a convenient key to the data and this, together with the definitions, made it possible to set precise limits for each type.

Since the veterans were divided into four categories on the basis of their attitudes towards Jews, it became necessary to select three lines which would divide the categories from one another. These limits between the categories of intolerance were set arbitrarily, although in keeping with the basic assumptions and consistent with the inner logic of the data. These dividing lines separated first, the intense from the outspoken veterans; second, the outspoken from the stereotyped veterans; and third, the stereotyped from the tolerant veterans.

1. *Delimitation of the Intense Anti-Semite from the Outspoken Anti-Semite.* As noted above, approximately 160 questions were asked at each interview, not including the neutral probes whose number varied from individual to individual. The first forty questions contained nothing which would normally

CHART B

DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES

Legend

Column

- (1) Spontaneous restrictive response (groups)
 (2) Spontaneous restrictive response (persons)
 (3) Spontaneous restrictive response (general)
 (4) Elicited restrictions (general)
 (5) Elicited restrictions (deportation)
 (6) Elicited restrictions (intermarriage)
 (7) Elicited restrictions (housing)
 (8) Elicited restrictions (employment)
 (9) Spontaneous stereotypes
 (10) Elicited stereotypes
 (11) Total number of stereotypes
 (12) Grounds for tolerance
 A Denial of differences between Jews and non-Jews
 B Acceptance of differences between Jews and non-Jews
 C Indifference
 (13) Index of anti-Semitism
 1 Tolerant
 2 Stereotyped
 3 Outspokenly anti-Semitic
 4 Intensely anti-Semitic

| <i>Intense</i> | | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|----------------|-----|-----|---|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------|------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 1 | — | x | x | x | x | — | x | — | x | x | 11 | — | 4 |
| 2 | x | — | — | x | — | x | x | — | x | x | 8 | — | 4 |
| 3 | x | x | x | x | x | — | x | x | x | x | 14 | — | 4 |
| 4 | x | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | x | 9 | — | 4 |
| 5 | x | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | x | x | 8 | — | 4 |
| 6 | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 4 |
| 7 | — | — | — | x | — | — | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 8 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 9 | — | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | x | 10 | — | 3 |
| 10 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | x | x | 2 | — | 3 |
| 11 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | — | 3 |
| 12 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | x | x | 8 | — | 3 |
| 13 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | — | x | 1 | A | 3 |
| 14 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3 |
| 15 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | — | x | x | 9 | — | 3 |

CHART B—(Continued)

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|-----------------|-----|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------|------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 16 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 9 | — | 3 |
| 17 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | x | 4 | — | 3 |
| 18 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 19 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 10 | — | 3 |
| 20 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | x | 2 | — | 3 |
| 21 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 22 | — | — | — | x | — | — | x | x | x | 2 | — | 3 |
| 23 | — | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | 4 | — | 3 |
| 24 | — | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | 2 | — | 3 |
| 25 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 4 | — | 3 |
| 26 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 27 | — | — | — | x | — | x | x | x | x | 10 | — | 3 |
| 28 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 29 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 8 | — | 3 |
| 30 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 17 | — | 3 |
| 31 | — | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 32 ^a | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3 |
| 33 | — | — | — | x | — | — | x | x | x | 8 | — | 3 |
| 34 | — | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 35 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3 |
| 36 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 12 | — | 3 |
| 37 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 38 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 39 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 40 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | x | 9 | — | 3 |
| 41 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3 |
| 42 | — | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | — | 1 | — | 3 |
| 43 | — | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 44 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3 |
| 45 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 |
| 46 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | x | 7 | — | 3 |
| 47 | — | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 8 | — | 3 |
| 48 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | — | 2 |
| 49 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | B | 2 |
| 50 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | — | 2 |
| 51 ^b | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| 52 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 7 | — | 2 |
| 53 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 54 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 2 | — | 2 |
| 55 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 3 | — | 2 |

CHART B—(Continued)

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|-----------------|-----|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------|------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 56 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 7 | — | 2 |
| 57 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | — | 2 |
| 58 | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | x | 5 | — | 2 |
| 59 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 60 ^a | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 1 | — | 2 |
| 61 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 9 | B | 2 |
| 62 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | B | 2 |
| 63 | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | x | 8 | — | 2 |
| 64 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 2 | — | 2 |
| 65 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 9 | B | 2 |
| 66 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 7 | B | 2 |
| 67 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | — | 2 |
| 68 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | A | 2 |
| 69 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | B | 2 |
| 70 | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | x | x | 7 | A | 2 |
| 71 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 8 | B | 2 |
| 72 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 3 | B | 2 |
| 73 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | B | 2 |
| 74 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | B | 2 |
| 75 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | B | 2 |
| 76 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 5 | B | 2 |
| 77 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 10 | B | 2 |
| 78 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | B | 2 |
| 79 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 2 | — | 2 |
| 80 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 5 | A | 2 |
| 81 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 82 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 5 | A | 2 |
| 83 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 4 | B | 2 |
| 84 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 2 |
| 85 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | A | 2 |
| 86 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 8 | A | 2 |
| 87 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | B | 2 |
| 88 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 2 |
| 89 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 90 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 91 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | B | 1 |
| 92 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 93 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 94 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 1 | B | 1 |
| 95 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 2 | B | 1 |

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

CHART B—(Continued)

[illegible]

CHART B—(Continued)

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol-</i> <i>erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|----------------|-----|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|------|------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 136 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 2 | A | 1 |
| 137 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 138 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 2 | B | 1 |
| 139 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 140 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | 2 | B | 1 |
| 141 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 142 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | C | 1 |
| 143 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | C | 1 |
| 144 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 145 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 146 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | x | 2 | A | 1 |
| 147 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 148 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | B | 1 |
| 149 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |
| 150 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A | 1 |

* Limited responses in latter half of the interview.

* Refused to answer but responses indicative of stereotyped anti-Semitism.

be interpreted as pertaining directly or indirectly to ethnic relations. However, five of the questions presented an opportunity for expression to those who tended to respond readily with interethnic hostility to questions of a general nature. They also permitted the expression of a demand or desire for restrictive actions. They were:

"Are there any organizations or groups of people whom you feel might be harmful to the country unless they are curbed?"

"Are there any groups of people you think are trying to get ahead at the expense of people like you?"

"What will interfere with our having a decent life?"

"Who do you think runs the government? What kind of people are they?"

"As things stand, would you say that some people get all the breaks and others get none?"

Subjects who mentioned the Jews in response to one of the first two questions were considered intensely anti-Semitic. If a subject responded to any one of the last three questions with *elaborated restrictive* comments, he was also considered to be intensely anti-Semitic. (See Col. 2 and Col. 3 on Chart B.)

Subjects who advocated restrictions against the Jews on any of the items which directly referred to the Jews throughout the remainder of the interview, or on direct questions, were considered to be outspokenly anti-Semitic.

2. *Delimitation of the Outspoken Anti-Semite from the Stereotyped Anti-Semite.* After the first forty nonethnic questions had been asked, six groups of questions were asked toward the end of the interview which were directly related to ethnic problems. They were so designed that responses could reveal whether a subject advocated restrictive action against the Jews. They also resulted in other types of hostile remarks about the Jews. The six main questions were the following:

"(In a depression) if there are not enough jobs to go around, who should have the first chance at them?" (After the veteran had stated his preference, several probes were used. Among them were the following: "What about native Americans? And what about Gentiles?")

"What do you think should be done about the Jews in this country?"

"Should Jews be forced to leave the country?"

"Should Jews be prevented from intermarriage?"

"Would you object to a Jew moving in next door to your house?"

"Would you be willing to have a Jew work on the job that you are doing?"

Responding to any one of these questions with discriminatory recommendations classified the subject as an outspoken anti-Semite. (The dividing line fell between Col. 8 and Col. 9 on Chart B.)

3. *Delimitation of the Stereotyped Anti-Semite from the Tolerant Veteran.* Eight questions were asked whose answers could have revealed anti-Semitic stereotypes. Most of these questions dealt with army experiences. For example, the veterans were asked who the "goldbrickers" in their outfit were and whether the Jews made good soldiers. In addition, the complete interview was combed for stereotypes which appeared as associative material. Stereotypes were analyzed in terms of their frequency and the distribution of the symbols employed. The total number of stereotypes made it possible to decide whether a subject should be categorized as a stereotyped anti-Semite or as a tolerant veteran. The next problem was to establish the maximum number of responses containing stereotypes which would still permit a subject to be considered as belonging in the category of tolerant veterans.

To arrive at such a number was not as difficult and the delimitation not as arbitrary as they may seem on the basis of a priori considerations. A careful inspection of the interviews revealed that it was possible to draw a convincing line of division between the tolerant and the intolerant veterans. The most important index with regard to tolerance proved to be the veteran's answer to the final direct question, "What shall be done with the Jews in this country?" The response to this question was markedly different in the case of veterans

who had previously used a larger number of stereotypes from the responses of those who had used only isolated stereotypes. Subjects who used no stereotypes, or at most one or two stereotypes, usually elaborated their answer to this question in such a way as to suggest that Jews should not be treated differently from the rest of the population. Veterans who had previously used more stereotypes either failed to elaborate their answers voluntarily, or supported their "tolerant" position by acknowledging that they were willing to accept the Jews *regardless of their difference*.

On the basis of this observation it was decided to classify a veteran as tolerant if he used *not more than two isolated stereotypes* and if he expressed *no restrictive demands* at any point in the interview.

The index as a whole should find its justification by the manner in which the data fitted into the scheme. It is additionally supported by the analysis of how certain traits correlated with the types of intolerance as measured by the index.

As mentioned above, this procedure was designed to measure a subject's degree of intolerance on the basis of his total response and by arranging all responses so as to form a continuum. One of the underlying assumptions was that higher degrees of intolerance contained the characteristics of intolerance which could also be found on the lower levels of intolerance. Thus the outspokenly anti-Semitic subject was supposed to show, in addition to his particular traits, those of the stereotyped anti-Semite. The intensely anti-Semitic subject was expected to display the attitudes of both the stereotyped and the outspoken anti-Semite plus the distinguishing element of a spontaneous appearance and a greater violence of such attitudes. This typology was suggested by the pre-test. Therefore the interview as a standardized instrument was so constructed that it would elicit responses which when systematically analyzed would permit such an ordering of respondents. The analysis of the results seems to indicate that the instrument was adequate in terms of this criterion. The number of cases which did not fit into the "scale" was very small, and in most cases it was possible to isolate particular conditions which explained why that was so.

The items in the interview dealing with Jewish topics were arranged in descending order of intensity on Chart B. Where the required number of items was present, the subject was classified as intensely anti-Semitic. The absence of all of them would indicate a completely tolerant attitude. It was possible to determine into which class an individual fell by noting where on the continuum the first intolerant trait appeared. It was assumed that ideally after the first trait of ethnic intolerance appeared, all the other traits would follow without interruption. The number of violations of this rule could be taken as a measure of the adequacy or inadequacy of the scheme of analysis. Such violations of this rule appeared in less than 5 per cent of the total number of cases.

Similar dividing lines were set up to delimit areas within the continuum of anti-Negro attitudes. Some modification of the definitions used in delimiting areas of anti-Semitism became necessary, but the same general procedure was applied (see Chart C).

In delimiting the "intensely" anti-Negro,¹ the spontaneity of restrictive comments was again used as the basis for categorizing. In addition, those who answered affirmatively to the question, "Should the Negroes be deported?" were classified in this group.

The most important revision of definitions was that the distinction between the outspoken and stereotyped categories was dropped. Instead, two groups of outspokenly anti-Negro veterans were isolated. First, those who made clear and unqualified demands for restrictive action with regard to the Negro were classifiable, according to the previous set of definitions, in the outspokenly anti-Negro category. These were classified as outspokenly anti-Negro, Type A. However, a number of veterans who made restrictive demands, spontaneously modified them by advocating equal opportunities and facilities under conditions of segregation. Responses of this nature were in answer to the generalized question, "What do you think ought to be done about the Negro in this country?" Veterans who responded in this way were classified as outspokenly anti-Negro, Type B. The form of their intolerance was clearly different from that of Type A. On the other hand, stereotyped thinking about the Negro unaccompanied by some form of restrictive demands almost never occurred. Stereotyped thinking about the Negro took the form of requests for segregation rather than expressions of mere negative valuations.

Therefore in relating social and economic factors to the degree of Negro intolerance as indicated by the position on the continuum, the latter type of outspoken intolerance (Type B) was included with the few veterans who displayed only stereotyped thinking about the Negro.

CHART C

DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

Legend

Column

- (1) Spontaneous restrictive responses (all types)
- (2) Elicited restrictions (deportation)
- (3) Elicited restrictions (general)
(Code O refers to expressions of equal opportunities under segregated conditions)
- (4) Elicited restrictions (intermarriage)
- (5) Elicited restrictions (housing)
- (6) Elicited restrictions (employment)
- (7) Spontaneous stereotypes
- (8) Elicited stereotypes
- (9) Total number of stereotypes
- (10) Grounds for tolerance
 - A Denial of differences between Negroes and non-Negroes
 - B Acceptance of differences between Negroes and non-Negroes

¹ The term "intensely" anti-Negro is a shorthand notation for veterans who had intensely anti-Negro attitudes; likewise "outspokenly" anti-Negro refers to veterans who had outspokenly anti-Negro attitudes, etc.

(11) Index of anti-Negro attitudes

1 Tolerant

2 Stereotyped

3 Outspoken anti-Negro

A Demands restrictions

B Demands segregation but equal rights and opportunities

4 Intensely anti-Negro

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|----------------|-----|---|------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| 1 | x | x | x | — | x | — | — | x | 1 | — | 4 |
| 2 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 14 | — | 4 |
| 3 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 4 |
| 4 | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 4 |
| 5 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 9 | — | 4 |
| 6 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | — | 4 |
| 7 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 4 |
| 8 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 20 | — | 4 |
| 9 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 9 | — | 4 |
| 10 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 4 |
| 11 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 4 |
| 12 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 9 | — | 4 |
| 13 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 4 |
| 14 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 4 |
| 15 | — | x | x | x | — | — | x | x | 3 | — | 4 |
| 16 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 4 |
| 17 | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 8 | — | 4 |
| 18 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 4 |
| 19 | — | x | — | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 4 |
| 20 | x | x | x | x | x | x | — | x | 4 | — | 4 |
| 21 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 4 |
| 22 | — | x | x | x | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 4 |
| 23 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | — | 1 | — | 4 |
| 24 | x | x | x | x | x | — | x | x | 4 | — | 4 |
| 25 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 26 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 27 | — | — | x | — | x | — | — | x | 1 | — | 3A |
| 28 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 29 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3A |
| 30 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 31 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 7 | — | 3A |
| 32 | — | — | x | — | x | x | x | x | 3 | — | 3A |
| 33 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | — | 1 | — | 3A |
| 34 | — | — | x | — | x | x | — | x | 1 | — | 3A |

DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

CHART C—(Continued)

[illegible]

CHART C—(Continued)

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|----------------|-----|---|------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| 74 | — | — | x | — | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 75 | — | — | x | x | x | x | — | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 76 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3A |
| 77 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3A |
| 78 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3A |
| 79 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 3 | — | 3A |
| 80 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3A |
| 81 | — | — | x | — | x | — | x | x | 1 | — | 3A |
| 82 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 83 | — | — | x | — | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 84 | — | — | x | x | x | x | — | x | 3 | — | 3A |
| 85 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3A |
| 86 | — | — | x | x | x | — | — | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 87 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | B | 3A |
| 88 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 89 | — | — | x | x | — | x | x | x | 7 | — | 3A |
| 90 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3A |
| 91 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 3 | A | 3A |
| 92 | — | — | x | — | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3A |
| 93 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 3A |
| 94 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3A |
| 95 | — | — | x | — | x | — | x | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 96 | — | — | x | x | x | — | x | x | 2 | — | 3A |
| 97 | — | — | x | x | x | x | x | — | 2 | — | 3A |
| 98 | — | — | x | — | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3A |
| 99 | — | — | 0 | — | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3B |
| 100 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3B |
| 101 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | — | — | 0 | — | 3B |
| 102 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | — | x | 3 | — | 3B |
| 103 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | — | x | 1 | — | 3B |
| 104 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | 6 | — | 3B |
| 105 | — | — | 0 | x | — | — | — | — | 0 | — | 3B |
| 106 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | x | — | 3 | — | 3B |
| 107 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | — | — | 0 | — | 3B |
| 108 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | — | — | 2 | — | 3B |
| 109 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | — | x | 2 | — | 3B |
| 110 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3B |
| 111 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | — | x | 1 | — | 3B |
| 112 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | — | 1 | A | 3B |

CHART C—(Continued)

| <i>Intense</i> | | | <i>Outspoken</i> | | | | <i>Stereotyped</i> | | | <i>Tol- erant</i> | <i>Index</i> |
|----------------|-----|---|------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) |
| 113 | — | — | 0 | x | — | — | x | — | 1 | — | 3B |
| 114 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | x | 3 | — | 3B |
| 115 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | x | 4 | — | 3B |
| 116 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | x | 5 | — | 3B |
| 117 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | x | x | 2 | — | 3B |
| 118 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | — | 1 | A | 3B |
| 119 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | x | 5 | A | 3B |
| 120 | — | — | 0 | — | — | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3B |
| 121 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | 4 | — | 3B |
| 122 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | 5 | — | 3B |
| 123 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | x | x | 1 | — | 3B |
| 124 | — | — | 0 | x | — | — | x | — | 2 | — | 3B |
| 125 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | — | x | 2 | — | 3B |
| 126 | — | — | 0 | x | — | — | x | x | 6 | — | 3B |
| 127 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | — | x | 2 | — | 3B |
| 128 | — | — | 0 | x | x | x | — | x | 3 | — | 3B |
| 129 | — | — | 0 | x | x | — | — | x | 1 | — | 3B |
| 130 | — | — | 0 | — | x | — | — | — | 0 | — | 3B |
| 131 | — | — | 0 | x | — | — | x | — | 2 | — | 3B |
| 132 | — | — | — | — | x | — | x | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 133 | — | — | — | x | — | — | x | x | 7 | — | 2 |
| 134 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | 3 | — | 2 |
| 135 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | 2 | — | 2 |
| 136 | — | — | — | — | — | x | — | x | 2 | B | 2 |
| 137 | — | — | — | x | x | — | — | x | 1 | — | 2 |
| 138 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 3 | A | 2 |
| 139 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |
| 140 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |
| 141 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | 0 | B | 1 |
| 142 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 1 | A | 1 |
| 143 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 | B | 1 |
| 144 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 | — | 1 |
| 145 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |
| 146 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | x | 1 | A | 1 |
| 147 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |
| 148 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | x | 1 | A | 1 |
| 149 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |
| 150 | — | — | — | x | — | — | — | — | 0 | A | 1 |

V. RELIABILITY OF ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

An examination of the literature on the analysis of open-ended interviews reveals a lack of progress toward the development of a suitable methodology. Advocates of the open-ended interview admit that the problem of analyzing its intensive data remains relatively unsolved, that is, the problem of translating the interview record into rigorous statistical categories of analysis. Lazarsfeld² states candidly:

"We shall agree that a well-conducted open-ended interview gives us a fascinating wealth of information on the attitude of a single respondent. When it comes to the statistical analysis of many open-ended interviews, the matter is already not so simple. It is in the nature of this technique that just the most valuable details of open-ended interviews become difficult to compare with the answers obtained in another interview. It can safely be said that the proponents of the open-ended interview technique have made much more progress in the conduct of the interviews than in their statistical analysis."

In particular, the few references make no mention of the problem of reliability in existing methods of analysis. It is most striking that in the literature on intensive interviews no cognizance is taken of experiences and techniques developed in the study of mass communications, particularly that of content analysis. The interview record is a form of communications, and therefore, should be subject to analysis in much the same way that communications content is analyzed. This is particularly the case since the various types of content analysis have attempted to deal with the reliability of their procedures.

Lasswell³ has brought this problem to the fore. Apparently the study of interpersonal relationships is held back by the absence of satisfactory categories for the description and comparison of symbols. He therefore suggests that communications be classified into categories according to the understandings which prevail among those who issued the communications, or to whom they are directed. (In the case of the interview, it would be in terms of the meanings of the respondent.)

The analyst may use a single symbol, an assertion, a sentence, a paragraph (or even a larger flow of communications) as his unit of analysis.⁴ (In the case of an intensive interview, he may use the responses to a single question, or to a number of questions, or a whole page of the interview.) Each reference or unit of analysis is classified according to explicit definitions or criteria; the definitions and criteria are obtained from the hypotheses being tested. (Lasswell has suggested and used the criteria of indulgence and deprivation; but this is only one set of criteria.) The next step is to determine the frequency

² Lazarsfeld, Paul F.: "The Controversy Over Detailed Interviews—An Offer for Negotiation," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VIII: 38-60, 1944.

³ Lasswell, Harold: "A Provisional Classification of Symbol Data," *Psychiatry* I: 197, 1938.

⁴ Lasswell, Harold: *Analyzing the Content of Mass Communications: A Brief Introduction*, Washington: Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications, Library of Congress 1942.

with which these categories appear in any flow of communications. Fundamentally, the method of content analysis depends on the reliability of the judgments of different analysts in applying the same criteria to a given document or interview. It should be noted that this is the problem of reliability implicit in the procedures described by practitioners of the open-ended interview.⁵ If the methodologists of open-ended and intensive interviews were explicit in this respect, they would cite reliability data indicating the degree to which more than one analyst agreed on the application of the categories of analysis. That contents can be reliably analyzed in this fashion has been shown by numerous studies. The degree of reliability depends on the unit of analysis and the explicitness with which the criteria and definitions are made.⁶ A number of unpublished studies by the Office of Radio Research may be considered as moving in the direction of the systematic analysis of intensive interview data.⁷

Therefore, the central problem in the application of content analysis procedures to intensive interviews is to take the responses to specific questions or groups of questions and to classify them reliably under a systematic set of criteria or categories.

Two points are central in this process of content analysis: (1) The classification system (the "code") cannot be determined completely before the interviews are gathered, although in the main the hypotheses and the pre-test supply the major outlines; (2) The reliable classification of a given response means that two or more analysts using the same explicit categories are able to produce a satisfactorily high degree of agreement in their analytical judgments, and that their judgments do not vary with time.

When the interviewing was completed for this study, 20 per cent of the cases were read. For each question or group of questions, all possible alternative answers supplied the basis for constructing a category system (the "code").⁸ Three types of categories were devised: (A) symbol categories, (B) assertion or proposition categories, and (C) analytic categories.

(A) In some cases the "code" merely called for noting the presence or absence of a particular list of *symbols*. For example, the question asking "Who do you think gained through the war?" produced the following category system:

1. We, we all.
2. The people, my country.
3. Nobody.
4. The officers.
5. Big business.
6. Those men who stayed at home.
7. Others.

⁵ Skott, H. E.: "Attitude Research in the Department of Agriculture," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII: 280-292, 1943.

⁶ Janis, Irving L., Fadner, Raymond H., and Janowitz, Morris: "Reliability of a Content Analysis Technique," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII: 293-96, 1943.

⁷ In particular, Berelson, Bernard: "The Quantitative Analysis of Case Records: An Experimental Study," *Psychiatry*, X: 395-403, 1948.

⁸ The category system which was developed to encompass questions both individually and in selected groups filled more than sixty typewritten pages.

(B) In other cases the response required the categorizing of an *assertion or statement*. For example: "How did the fellows feel about religion?" The code for this question was:

1. Soldiers were more religious in combat; there were no atheists in foxholes.
2. Most soldiers followed their civilian habits.
3. Like everything else; everybody feels a little different; everybody had his own opinions.
4. Most soldiers didn't go to church; no one in the army was really religious.
5. Other.
6. Don't know.

Frequently, the responses did not employ these explicit assertions so that supplementary rules had to be constructed.

Many questions which might have been asked in a "yes" or "no" fashion were asked as open-ended questions in order to produce fuller and more representative responses. For example: "How were the Jews treated in the army?" This made the coding procedure of assertions more elaborate. The categories employed for this question were:

1. They were treated just like anyone.
2. They were treated very well (matter-of-fact).
3. They were treated very well because they always got soft jobs and special privileges.
4. They always watched out for themselves; talked themselves into good jobs.
5. The Jews were not treated too well because they held all the good jobs, and special privileges, and were disliked by the boys for this.

Because of the detail of analysis, assertion analysis developed into complicated classification systems where the question required it. For example: "If we have a large amount of unemployment, what will that do to you and your family?"

Responses were coded as follows:

1. Unemployment would mean nothing to a person like me.
2. Won't do much.
3. Depends.
4. We will probably be able to get along on a reduced level; my wages will be reduced.
5. Will affect us very much; would have to go on relief; will put us in a bad fix.
6. People like me will starve.
7. Don't know.

Or, "Do you think that what the government has been doing these days is affecting the liberties of the ordinary people?"

1. We don't have any liberties.
2. The government is affecting our liberties (generally).
3. The government is affecting our liberties (mentions specific ways).
4. The government is not affecting our liberties to any great extent.
5. These restrictions are necessary; are helpful.
6. We have our freedom.
7. Some Americans have too much freedom; they don't appreciate their freedom.

8. Other.

9. Don't know.

In the final presentation of results, sub-categories of this type were often combined for special purposes.

(C) Certain questions were classified according to judgments not readily discernible from the manifest content but dependent on *analytical definitions*. For example, the series of questions on political parties, in addition to being coded for professed party affiliation, were classified according to the following criteria, after clear definitions and examples were established. Code: Attitude toward political parties in general.

1. Feeling of general deprivation (due to disregard by the leaders, incompetency, or deliberate manipulation).
2. Feeling of indulgence (due to benevolence or competency).
3. Indeterminate.

The reliability of the coding procedure was dependent ultimately on the ability of trained analysts who were familiar with the definitions to apply them to the 150 cases and independently to produce comparable results. To this end, only four analysts participated in the task, two of whom carried out the bulk of the work. All four were totally familiar with the various aspects of the study and had wide experience in social research, particularly in attitude research. To test the procedure, four of the most abstract and complicated sets of categories were tested. In all, 400 judgments drawn from one-third of the sample were made by one analyst. The same data were "coded" independently by another analyst. The classification systems tested were: (1) expressions of personal competency; (2) acceptance of present status in economic matters; (3) demands for collective vs. individual action; (4) economic apprehensions. The analysis of errors is tabulated below:

TABLE 3(A)
RELIABILITY OF ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

| | No. of Differences Between Two Analysts | Total No. of Judgments | Percentage Error |
|---------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Competency | 5 | 100 | 5.0 |
| 2. Acceptance of present status | 12 | 100 | 12.0 |
| 3. Demands for action | 10 | 150 | 7.0 |
| 4. Apprehensions | 4 | 50 | 8.0 |
| Total | 31 | 400 | 7.7 |

The total percentage of error for the 400 judgments was about 8. It should be noted that the largest number of errors occurred in the category on the veteran's acceptance of his present status. The overall percentage error was considered strikingly small and therefore warranted confidence in the procedure of analysis, especially since these categories were typical of the most diffi-

cult aspects of the coding procedures. Actually the data produced by the categories included under "acceptance of present status" were not employed in this report, so that the percentage error may be considered to have been even smaller.

VI. SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How do you think things are going to turn out now that the war is over?
 - 1.1. Why do you think so?
2. What do you think can be done to insure a decent life for us?
 - 2.1. Why do you think that?
 - 2.2. What are the chances that ——— will happen?
 - 2.3. Who should do it?
3. What will interfere with our having a decent life?
 - 3.1. What can be done about it?
 - 3.2. Who should do it?
4. Now that the veterans are back, how do you think they are going to get along?
 - 4.1. Why do you think that?
 - 4.2. What are the main gripes of the veterans?
5. Do you think enough is being done for the veterans now?
 - 5.1. Why do you say that?
 - 5.2. (If not enough) What should be done for the veterans?
 - 5.3. Who should do it?
 - 5.4. Are there any groups of people you think are trying to get ahead at the expense of people like you?
6. Which party do you think is better for the veteran?
 - 6.1. In what way will the ——— party be better for the veteran?
 - 6.2. How about your parents? What party do, or did, they favor?
 - 6.3. How could our government be improved?
 - 6.4. Do you think that what the government has been doing these days is affecting the liberties of the ordinary people?
7. Do you think the ordinary individual has any chance to influence politics nowadays?
 - 7.1. (If "yes") How does the ordinary individual influence politics?
(If "no") How could the ordinary individual influence politics?
 - 7.2. Who do you think runs the government?
 - 7.3. What kind of people are they?
 - 7.4. Are there any organizations or groups of people who you feel might be harmful to the country unless they are curbed?
8. Are you a member of any veterans' organization?
 - 8.1. (If "yes") Why do you prefer that (or those) organizations?
 - 8.2. (If not a member) Why don't you belong to any of these veterans' organizations?

9. We have been talking about how to get a decent life in America, but as things stand, would you say that some people get all the breaks, and others get none?
- 9.1. Which groups get all the breaks?
- 9.2. Are there any others?
- 9.3. Do you think they deserve them?
- 9.4. Why do you think so?
10. If we have unemployment how bad will it be?
- 10.1. If we have a large amount of unemployment what will that do to you and your family?
- 10.2. What did you and your family experience during the last depression of 1929?
- 10.3. What's gone wrong with America that we run into depressions?
- 10.4. What can be done about it?
- 10.5. If there are not enough jobs to go around, who should have the first chance at them?
- 10.51. What about veterans, white people, Gentiles, native-born Americans, people who have seniority on the job?
- 10.6. Why would you say that (for each)?
11. What are you working at now?
- 11.1. Are you satisfied with your present position?
- 11.2. Why?
- 11.3. What job do you want to get into now?
- 11.4. What do you think the chances are for this?
- 11.5. Why?
- 11.6. What occupation would you like to get into as your life's work?
12. About how much money would you want to be making a year?
- 12.1. What do you think the chances are for that?
- 12.2. Why?
13. Do you happen to be married? (If "yes" ask 14. to 15.3.)
- 13.1. (If single) Have you thought of getting married?
(If engaged or planning to get married, ask 14.4. to 15.3.)
- 13.2. Are you living alone or with your family?
- 13.3. Is this a satisfactory arrangement?
- 13.4. Why "yes" or "no"?
- 13.5. Why don't you plan to get married?
14. (If veteran is married ask) Have you and your wife been able to continue your home life the way you wanted it since your discharge?
- 14.1. Why?
- 14.2. What things can you think of that would improve your home life?
- 14.3. How many children do you have?
- 14.4. How many children would you like to have?
- 14.5. What do you think is the best way of bringing up your children?
- 14.6. Do you think the ways of bringing up children have changed since your parents' time?

- 14.7. Would you bring your children up the way your mother and father brought you up?
- 14.8. How do you think you can get children to behave?
- 14.9. How did your parents do it?
- 14.10. Do you think that was the right way of going about it?
15. What do you think about wives working?
- 15.1. Why "yes" or "no"?
- 15.2. Did your mother ever work?
- 15.3. How did your dad feel about women working?
16. We've been talking about how you would like your life to be now; do you think the time you spent in the army set you back in any way?
- 16.1. By the way, how long were you in the army?
- 16.2. What type of army service did you see? (Type of work; how long
- 16.2.1-4. for each; amount of combat; special decorations.)
- 16.3. What did you lose by being in the army?
- 16.4. If you lost, who gained through the war?
17. How did you feel about going into the army?
- 17.1. Why?
- 17.2. What did you like most about army life?
- 17.3. What did you like least about army life?
- 17.4. Do you feel that you got a bad break in your army career?
- 17.5. How is that?
- 17.6. Do you feel that army life changed you in any way?
- 17.7. How is that?
18. In your experience in the army, what kind of fellows were the "goldbrickers"?
19. How did the fellows in your outfit get along with the officers?
- 19.1. What was wrong with the officers?
- 19.2. Do you think promotions were decided upon fairly?
- 19.3. Why?
- 19.4. Do you fellows feel that army discipline was too strict?
- 19.5. In what way?
- 19.6. In general, do you feel that officers deserve the special privileges which they get?
- 19.7. Why?
- 19.8. How do you feel about saluting officers?
- 20.1. Do you find you miss the fellows in your outfit?
- 20.2. Was your outfit one where everybody got along together?
- 20.3. Who were the troublemakers?
- 20.4. What kind of fellows were they?
- 20.5. Is there anything about army life that you miss now?
- 20.6. When you were in the army, did you feel the civilians treated you right?
- 20.7. In what way?

21. How did the fellows feel about religion?
- 21.1. Did you notice any change in their attitude towards religion?
- 21.2. Do you think your attitude toward religion was changed in any way by army life?
- 21.3. How about going to church?
- 21.31. Do you think you go to church more or less than you did before you entered the army?
- 21.4. May I ask what denomination you are?
- 21.5. May I ask what denomination your mother and father were?
- 21.51. How important was religion in your family?
22. Do you go around with a crowd regularly?
- 22.1. Is it the same crowd you went out with before the war?
- 22.2. Do your parents approve?
- 22.3. Do you keep in touch with your brothers and sisters who do not live with you?
- 22.4. Do you keep in touch with any of your army buddies?
23. Do you think civilians respect and understand the veterans?
- 23.1. How is that?
24. In view of what the war has cost you fellows and the rest of the country, do you think it was worthwhile?
- 24.1. Do you think the German and Japanese wars were equally necessary?
- 24.2. Why?
- 24.3. What did we gain or lose by the European war?
- 24.4. What did we gain or lose by the Japanese war?
- 24.5. What do you think are the chances for a long peace?
- 24.6. What would you say were the biggest threats coming from outside the United States?
- 24.7. Do you think there are any threats to peace inside this country?
- 24.8. Can anything be done to guarantee peace? What?
25. Do you think we should help other countries get on their feet with food, manufactured products, etc?
- 25.1. Which ones?
- 25.2. When you were in the army, did you get into contact with foreigners?
- 25.3. What ones?
- 25.4. What do you think about them?
- 25.5. What should we do with Germany? Japan?
- 25.6. What should be done about the refugees who have come to this country?
- 25.7. Should more be let in?
26. How were the Mexicans treated in the army?
27. How were the Negroes treated in the army?
- 27.1. Did the Negroes make good soldiers?
- 27.2. How did the fellows in your outfit get along with Negroes?
- 27.3. What do you think should be done about the Negro in this country?

28. How were the Jews treated in the army?
- 28.1. Did the Jews make good soldiers?
- 28.2. How did the fellows in your outfit get along with the Jews?
- 28.3. What do you think should be done about the Jews in this country?
29. Should Negroes be forced to leave the country?
- 29.1. Should Negroes be prevented from intermarriage?
- 29.2. Would you object to a Negro moving in next door to your house?
- 29.3. Would you be willing to have a Negro work on the same job that you are doing?
- 29.4. Would you eat in a restaurant where Negroes were served?
30. Should Jews be forced to leave the country?
- 30.1. Should Jews be prevented from intermarriage?
- 30.2. Would you object to a Jew moving in next door to your house?
- 30.3. Would you be willing to have a Jew work on the same job that you are doing?
- 30.4. Would you eat in a restaurant where Jews were served?
- 30.5. What should be done with the Japanese in this country?

ASKED AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born? (City and state.)
3. Where did you live before you joined the army?
4. When were you demobilized?
5. What was your rank at the time of discharge?
6. How long have you lived at your present address?
7. Married, single, separated, divorced, how many times married?
8. How long married?
9. If not married, with whom are you living?
- 9.1. How much education have you had?
10. Are your parents living or dead? If dead, when?
11. Are there any divorces in your family?
12. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Record sibling relationships.)
13. Where was your father born?
14. Where was your mother born? (If either parent was born in the U. S., determine ethnic stock by question, "From where did your father's family come?")
15. What is your father's occupation?
16. What is his present income?
17. What was your occupation and salary before you entered the army?
18. What is your present salary?
19. What organizations did you belong to before the war?
20. What organizations do you belong to now?
21. What is your favorite newspaper?

- 21.1. What is your favorite radio program?
 21.2. What is your favorite magazine?
 22. By the way, which political party do you favor?

VII. SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

A. Tables dealing with attitudes toward Jews.

TABLE 4(A)

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION OF VETERANS' PARENTS

| | Parents both Catholic | | Parents both Protestant | | Parents both Gr. Orth. | | Parents of different denomination | | Total |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|-------|
| | No. | Per- centage | No. | Per- centage | No. | Per- centage | No. | Per- centage | No. |
| Tolerant | 39 | 40 | 14 | 45 | 0 | — | 8 | 40 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 26 | 27 | 9 | 29 | 1 | — | 6 | 30 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 32 | 33 | 8 | 26 | 1 | — | 6 | 30 | 47 |
| Total | 97 | | 31 | | 2 | | 20 | | 150 |

TABLE 5(A)

"DO YOU THINK YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION WAS CHANGED
 IN ANY WAY BY ARMY LIFE?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|------------------------|----------|----|-------------|----|--------------------------|----|-------|----|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| It was strengthened | 15 | 25 | 10 | 24 | 19 | 40 | 44 | 29 |
| It's the same | 38 | 62 | 26 | 62 | 21 | 45 | 85 | 57 |
| I'm less religious now | 7 | 11 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 9 | 15 | 10 |
| Indeterminate | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 | |

TABLE 6(A)

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF PARENTS

| | Both parents born in U.S. | | One parent born in U.S. | | Neither parent born in U.S. | | Total |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 24 | 44 | 9 | 36 | 28 | 40 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 16 | 29 | 5 | 20 | 21 | 30 | 42 |
| Outspoken and Intense | 15 | 27 | 11 | 44 | 21 | 30 | 47 |
| Total | 55 | | 25 | | 70 | | 150 |

TABLE 7(A)

SALARY RANGE

| | No. | Percentage |
|--------------------|-----|------------|
| Less than \$1,500 | 1 | 1 |
| \$1,501 to \$2,000 | 29 | 19 |
| \$2,001 to \$2,500 | 29 | 19 |
| \$2,501 to \$3,000 | 43 | 29 |
| \$3,001 to \$3,500 | 20 | 13 |
| \$3,501 to \$4,000 | 4 | 3 |
| \$4,001 to \$4,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Over \$4,500 | 4 | 3 |
| Unemployed | 7 | 5 |
| Student | 8 | 5 |
| No data | 5 | 3 |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

TABLE 8(A)
CURRENT OCCUPATION

| | No. | Percentage |
|----------------------|-----|------------|
| Professional | 3 | 2 |
| Prof. and Managerial | 5 | 3 |
| Clerk and Kindred | 27 | 18 |
| Skilled | 20 | 13 |
| Semi-skilled | 62 | 42 |
| Unskilled | 11 | 7 |
| Unemployed | 7 | 5 |
| Student | 9 | 6 |
| On-the-job-training | 6 | 4 |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

TABLE 9(A)
TYPE OF ARMY SERVICE

| | Combat | | Combat support | | Noncombat | | Total |
|------------------------|--------|------------|----------------|------------|-----------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 22 | 41 | 12 | 40 | 27 | 40 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 18 | 34 | 6 | 20 | 18 | 27 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 13 | 25 | 12 | 40 | 22 | 33 | 47 |
| Total | 53 | | 30 | | 67 | | 150 |

TABLE 10(A)
ILLNESS AND INJURY DURING SERVICE*

| | Wounded | | Combat exhaustion | | Noncombat illness or accident | | None | | Total |
|------------------------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|------|-------------|-------|
| | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. |
| Tolerant | 11 | 42 | 1 | — | 8 | 32 | 43 | 44 | 63 |
| Stereotyped | 9 | 35 | 2 | — | 5 | 20 | 26 | 26 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 6 | 23 | 1 | — | 12 | 48 | 30 | 30 | 49 |
| Total | 26 | | 4 | | 25 | | 99 | | |

* Multiple entries possible.

TABLE 11(A)
LENGTH OF ARMY SERVICE

| | 1-3 years | | 3-4 years | | 4 and more | | Total |
|------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 14 | 36 | 30 | 48 | 17 | 35 | 61 |
| Stereotyped | 12 | 31 | 16 | 26 | 14 | 29 | 42 |
| Outspoken & Intense | 13 | 33 | 16 | 26 | 18 | 36 | 47 |
| Total | 39 | | 62 | | 49 | | 150 |

TABLE 12(A)
"NOW THAT THE VETERANS ARE BACK, HOW DO YOU THINK
THEY ARE GOING TO GET ALONG?"

| | Tolerant | | Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total |
|------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | No. | Per- centage | No. | Per- centage | No. | Per- centage | No. Per- centage |
| Well | 38 | 62 | 14 | 33 | 19 | 40 | 71 47 |
| Badly | 11 | 18 | 12 | 29 | 15 | 32 | 38 25 |
| Other | 11 | 18 | 15 | 36 | 10 | 22 | 36 24 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 5 4 |
| Total | 61 | | 42 | | 47 | | 150 |

B. Tables dealing with attitudes toward Negroes.

TABLE 13(A)
ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF PARENTS

| | Both parents born in U.S. | | One parent born in U.S. | | Neither parent born in U.S. | | Total |
|-------------|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 7 | 13 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 12 |
| Stereotyped | 15 | 27 | 5 | 20 | 20 | 29 | 40 |
| Outspoken | 25 | 45 | 14 | 56 | 35 | 50 | 74 |
| Intense | 8 | 15 | 5 | 20 | 11 | 15 | 24 |
| Total | 55 | | 25 | | 70 | | 150 |

TABLE 14(A)
ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND AGE

| | Under 28 | | 29-36 | | Total |
|-------------|----------|------------|-------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 6 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 12 |
| Stereotyped | 21 | 22 | 19 | 35 | 40 |
| Outspoken | 52 | 55 | 22 | 39 | 74 |
| Intense | 15 | 16 | 9 | 16 | 24 |
| Total | 94 | | 56 | | 150 |

TABLE 15(A)
ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND EDUCATION

| | Up to some high school | | Completed high school | | Some college or more | | Total |
|-------------|---------------------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 2 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 13 | 12 |
| Stereotyped | 16 | 25 | 10 | 22 | 14 | 36 | 40 |
| Outspoken | 32 | 49 | 27 | 57 | 15 | 38 | 74 |
| Intense | 15 | 23 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 13 | 24 |
| Total | 65 | | 46 | | 39 | | 150 |

TABLE 16(A)
ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND PARTY AFFILIATION

| | Democratic | | Republican | | Total |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 3 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Stereotyped | 14 | 29 | 6 | 24 | 20 |
| Outspoken | 26 | 53 | 12 | 48 | 38 |
| Intense | 6 | 12 | 6 | 24 | 12 |
| Total | 49 | | 25 | | 74 |

TABLE 17(A)

ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

| | Catholic | | Protestant | | Greek Orth. | | No present religious denomination | | Total |
|-------------|----------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. | Per-centage | No. |
| Tolerant | 8 | 8 | 3 | 9 | 0 | — | 1 | 8 | 12 |
| Stereotyped | 23 | 22 | 10 | 30 | 2 | — | 5 | 42 | 40 |
| Outspoken | 57 | 55 | 14 | 43 | 0 | — | 3 | 25 | 74 |
| Intense | 15 | 15 | 6 | 18 | 0 | — | 3 | 25 | 24 |
| Total | 103 | | 33 | | 2 | | 12 | | 150 |

TABLE 18(A)

ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND FAVORITE NEWSPAPER

| | Tolerant and Stereotyped | | Outspoken and Intense | | Total | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|-------|----------|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| Chicago Times | 10 | 20 | 39 | 80 | 49 | 100 |
| Chicago Tribune | 14 | 30 | 33 | 60 | 47 | 100 |
| Daily News | 12 | 50 | 12 | 50 | 24 | 100 |
| Herald-American | 6 | 29 | 15 | 71 | 21 | 100 |
| Chicago Sun | 6 | 43 | 8 | 57 | 14 | 100 |

TABLE 19(A)

ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND DIVORCE IN VETERAN'S FAMILY

| | No divorces | | One or more divorces | | Total |
|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 12 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Stereotyped | 38 | 29 | 2 | 12 | 40 |
| Outspoken | 64 | 48 | 10 | 59 | 74 |
| Intense | 19 | 14 | 5 | 29 | 24 |
| Total | 133 | | 17 | | 150 |

TABLE 20(A)

ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND CURRENT SALARY

| | Under \$3,000 | | Over \$3,000 | | Total |
|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant | 7 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Stereotyped | 27 | 26 | 4 | 14 | 31 |
| Outspoken | 49 | 48 | 19 | 68 | 68 |
| Intense | 19 | 19 | 3 | 11 | 22 |
| Total | 102 | | 28 | | 130 |

TABLE 21(A)

ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

| | Unskilled; semi-skilled | | Top Four Groups ^a | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------|-------|
| | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage | No. |
| Tolerant and Stereotyped | 20 | 25 | 32 | 46 | 52 |
| Outspoken | 42 | 53 | 32 | 46 | 74 |
| Intense | 18 | 22 | 6 | 8 | 24 |
| Total | 80 | | 70 | | 150 |

^a Includes students; on-the-job training

INDEX

- Age, 48-49
 Allport, Gordon, 8
American Imago, 35 *footnote*
 American Jewish Committee, vii f., xvii ff.
American Journal of Psychotherapy, 157
footnote
 Analytic categories, 210, 212-13
 Analytic procedures, reliability of, 219-21
Analyzing the Content of Mass Communi-
cations, 209 *footnote*
 Anti-Negro attitudes, 26-31
Anti-Semitism, 35 *footnote*
 Anti-Semitism
 and age, 48-49
 compared with anti-Negro attitudes,
 26-31
 and educational level, 49-50
 and family composition, 52-53
 in Germany, 32 *footnote*, 34, 42-43
 footnote, 48-49, 54, 56, 58, 60-61,
 95, 166, 170 *footnote*, 173, 181-
 82 *footnote*
 in the Middle Ages, 164-66, 169
 and nativity of parents, 53-54
 and political affiliation, 52
 polls on, 7-8, 48 f., 56 *footnote*
 and reading and listening habits, 54-
 55, 149
 and religion, 50-52
 and social mobility, 56-61
 and socioeconomic status, 55-56, 166-
 69
 and world events, 49
 Anxiety, 94
 Army discipline, 97-100
 Army experiences, 62-73
 anti-Negro, 152-53
 deprivation caused by, 62 ff.
 effect of, 43-47, 52
 types of, 63
 Assertion categories, 210, 211-12
 Attitudes, parental, 104-106, 117, 170-71,
 179, 184-85
 political, 85-93, 101 ff.
 racial, 142-44
 religious, 50-52, 96-97, 155-56, 158,
 164-66, 169
 Authority, army, 97-100
 religious, 96-97
 societal, 100-104
 Authority constellations, 95 ff.
 Berelson, Bernard, 55 *footnote*, 210 *foot-*
note
 Bettelheim, Bruno, 43 *footnote*, 173 *foot-*
note
 Business, control of, 38
 Business methods, 39
 Campbell, Angus, 48 f.
 Case histories
 intense anti-Semites, 16-19, 138-40
 outspoken anti-Semites, 19-21
 who possessed some measure of con-
 trol, 129-31
 whose controls were inadequate,
 131-38
 stereotyped anti-Semites, 22-24, 124-29
 tolerant men, 24-26
 whose controls were adequate, 111-
 20
 whose controls were inadequate,
 120-24
 Categories, analytic, 210, 212-13
 assertion or proposition, 210, 211-12
 symbol, 210
 Catharsis, 171-72
 Childhood experiences, 104-106, 117,
 170-71, 179-80
 Clannishness, 36-37, 40, 46
 Code; *see* Categories
 Collective identification, 72-73
Commentary, 7 *footnote*
 "Common man," 93
Commonweal, 8 *footnote*
 Conscientious objectors, 141-42 *footnote*
 Control, of business, 38
 correlates of, 106-11
 by Negroes, 39
 Controls, societal, 154-55
 structure of, 153

- Correlates, of control, 106-11
of intolerance, 62, 148
- Delusional mechanisms, 34 f.
- Depreciation of property, 39
- Depression, financial, 82-85
- Deprivation, 62 ff., 174
- Dirtiness, 39
- Discipline, army, 97-100
- Displacement, 156-59; *see also* Projection
- Durkheim, Emile, 61
- Education for tolerance, 177-78
- Educational level, 49-50
- Edwards, Alba, classification, 55, 58 *footnote*, 151
- Ego and the Id, The*, 145 *footnote*
- Ego strength, 117
- Eissler, K. R., 157
- England, 92
- Fadner, Raymond H., 210 *footnote*
- Family composition, 52-53, 149-50
- Fear of unemployment, 80-85
- Fenichel, O., 35 *footnote*
- Financial depression, 82-85
- Flowerman, Samuel H., 7 *footnote*
- Fortune* polls, 7, 49, 56 *footnote*
- Freud, Sigmund, 33, 35, 145 *footnote*
- German Republic, 84-85
- Germany, anti-Semitism in, 32 *footnote*, 34, 42-43 *footnote*, 48-49, 54, 56, 58, 60-61, 95, 166, 170 *footnote*, 173, 181-82 *footnote*
- propaganda in, 143
- stereotypes, 41-42
- Gestalt, 171
- Grinker, R. R., 70
- Hartley, E., 48 *footnote*
- Hawthorne research study, 99
- Hitler; *see* Germany
- Hostility, discharge of, 94 ff., 181-84
hypotheses concerning, 2-4
- Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization, The*, 99 *footnote*
- Id, 43
- Identification, collective, 72-73
national, 71 ff., 85
- Immorality, 40
- Intermarriage, 143-44
- Interpersonal relationships, 179-80, 185
- Interpretation, psychoanalytical, 42-43, 123-24, 156-59, 183
- Interview, comments on, 193-95
content of, 14-16
design of, 9-12
method of approaching subjects in, 189
method of asking questions and probing for associations, 190
open-ended, 189, 209 f.
person of the interviewer, 189
place of, 190
recording of, 190
reliability of analytical procedures, 209-12
schedule of questions, 213-18
standardized elements in, 189-90
timing of, 190
- Interviewees, selection of, 191-93
- Intolerance, correlates of, 62, 148
degrees of, 12-14
patterns of, anti-Negro, 203-208
anti-Semitic, 195-203
- Jahoda, Marie, 7 *footnote*
- Janis, Irving L., 210 *footnote*
- Janowitz, Morris, 210 *footnote*
- Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 43 *footnote*, 173 *footnote*
- Kelley, Douglas McG., 95 *footnote*
- Lasswell, Harold, 209
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., 209
- Laziness, 39
- Legal alteration of norms, 176-77
- Listening habits, 54-55
- Luebbing, Jane, xviii
- Manual labor, 39
- Marannos, 165-66
- Mayo, Elton, 99 *footnote*
- Mechanisms, delusional, 34 f.
- Mediaeval society, 164-66, 169
- Men Under Stress*, 70 *footnote*

- Mobility, social, 56-61, 150-51, 174 ff.
 Money, possession of, 37, 40
 Motility, 182-83
- National identification, 71 ff., 85
 Nativity of parents, 53-54
 Nazi; *see* Germany
 Negro stereotypes, 39 ff.
 Newcomb, T., 48 *footnote*
 Newspaper reading habits, 55, 149
- Occupational status, 175-76
 Open-ended interview, 189, 209 f.
 Opinion polls; *see* polls
 Optimism, 76-80, 83
- Pacifism, 141-42 *footnote*
 Parental attitudes, 104-106, 117, 170-71, 179, 184-85
 Parents, nativity of, 53-54
 Patriotic symbols, 71-72
 Patterns of intolerance, anti-Negro, 203-208
 anti-Semitic, 195-203
 Peace, chances for, 91-92
 Personality structure, changes in, 173, 184
 Pessimism, 76-80, 83
 Political affiliation, 52
 Political attitudes, 85-93, 101 ff.
 Polls on anti-Semitism, 7-8, 48 f., 56 *footnote*
 Projection, 42-43, 139, 156-59
 Propaganda, in Germany, 143
 for tolerance, 180 f.
 Property, depreciation of, 39
 Proposition categories, 210, 211-12
Psychiatry, 209 *footnote*, 210 *footnote*
 Psychoanalytical interpretation, 42-43, 123-24, 156-59, 183
Public Opinion Quarterly, 55 *footnote*, 209 *footnote*, 210 *footnote*
- Racial attitudes, 142-44
 Reading habits, 54-55, 149
Readings in Social Psychology, 48 *footnote*
- Reality testing, 32 ff.
 Relationships, interpersonal, 179-80, 185
 Reliability of analytical procedures, 209-12
 Religious attitudes, 50-52, 96-97, 155-56, 158, 164-66, 169
 Russia, 92-93
- Salter, Patricia, 55 *footnote*
 Sampling procedure, 191-93
 Sexual relations, 46-47, 183-84
 Simmel, E., 35 *footnote*
 Skott, H. E., 210 *footnote*
 Slave society, 163-64
Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States, A, 55 *footnote*
 Social mobility, 55-61, 150-51, 174 ff.
Social Psychology, Readings in, 48 *footnote*
 Social Science Research Committee, xviii
 Societal authority, 100-104
 Societal controls, 154-55
 Society, Mediaeval, 164-66, 169
 slave, 163-64
 Socioeconomic status, 55-56, 151-52, 166-69, 174-75
 Spiegel, J. P., 70
 Sports, 182-83
 Stereotypes, in Germany, 41-42
 Jewish, 36-39, 40 f.
 Negro, 39 ff.
Suicide, Le, 61 *footnote*
 Superego, 43
 Superiority, need for, 180
 Surveys; *see* Polls
 Symbol categories, 210
 Symbols, authority, 95 ff.
 patriotic, 71 f.
- Tensions, discharge of, 94 ff., 181-84
 Testing, reality, 32 ff.
22 Cells in Nuremberg, 95 *footnote*
- Unemployment, fear of, 80-85
 University of Chicago, xviii
- Violence, use of, 82
- War, danger of, 91-92; *see also* Army
 World events, 49